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RICHARD SALTER STORRS.

THE face which looks out upon us from the opposite page is one that has been so long familiar to the Congregational ministers of New England, that as they catch its clear and benignant expression, they cannot but have such emotions as children feel when looking upon the face of a beloved and honored father. The old energy and force, the gentlemanly dignity, the mingled fire and sweetness, are all there. So life-like is the countenance that we almost wait to hear the voice which has spoken to us so often in the times gone by.

Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, D. D., was born at Longmeadow, Feb. 7, 1787, and was the eldest child of Rev. Richard Salter Storrs and Sarah (Williston) Storrs. At the time of his birth, Longmeadow, as an incorporated town, was only four years old ; but as a part of Springfield, it was one of the ancient places of settlement on the river. The white population began to gather there in 1644,¹ only about eight years after the settlements at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. For more than half a century the dwellers at Longmeadow worshipped with the church in Springfield. In 1713 this place became an established precinct of Springfield, and in 1716 a

¹ Of the three first settlers one was George Colton, who is said to have been the father of the many generations of Coltons in all this region of country. This has been one of the most common names in Longmeadow. The family has furnished to the country, also, a goodly number of men of genius and marked ability.

church was organized there, and Rev. Stephen Williams was ordained its pastor. Mr. Williams was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1713, and began his ministry [1716], being then twenty-three years old. He died here at the age of eighty-nine, in 1782, after a continuous ministry of sixty-six years. Three years after his death, in 1785, Dr. Storrs' father, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1783, was settled, he being then twenty-two years old. Two months before his settlement he had been united in marriage to Miss Sarah Williston, eldest daughter of Rev. Noah Williston, of West Haven, Connecticut.

Longmeadow is a place rare and unique, even among the river towns. The settlements along the river are all accustomed to such aspects of nature and such general outward experiences as do not belong to the towns which are planted among the hills. The river itself, in its changing conditions and manifold agencies, is a fact so large and important that its varied humors have to be recognized and respected, and taken into the account in the plans of life and business. These towns nourish, too, a population more purely agricultural than can be elsewhere found in New England.

But even among these river towns, Longmeadow is, in some respects, peculiar. What may be called the second bank of the river — that which bounds, not the river itself, but the wide meadows along its sides — rises here somewhat abruptly and to an unusual height. The traveller on the railroad, passing on the lower level and near the foot of this second bank, is hardly made aware of the existence of any such place; but if he will leave the cars at the Longmeadow Station, and climb the winding road up the sandy hill till he comes to the upper level, he will find himself in a long, broad, generous street, shaded with overhanging trees and skirted with substantial dwellings. In this street everything wears the aspect of quiet and dignified repose. The dwellers here are able to be a law unto themselves, and they are not greatly disturbed at what the rest of the world may be saying or doing. Their wealth lies largely in the beautiful meadows below them, which here spread out in their richness to an unusual length and breadth. The early dwellers at Longmeadow planted themselves upon the

higher portions of these meadow lands, but after a sufficient experience, they petitioned "That on account of the danger they were in from floods, and some other inconveniences attending their situation, they might be permitted to move out of the general field, and build on the hill." In this their experience was not unlike that of many of the early dwellers along these river towns. The river itself is more of a fact, at certain times, than they had at first counted upon. The greater freshets, which come in the course of years, attended often with the breaking up of the winter ice, cause such a commotion in these meadow lands, even around the higher portions of them, that one may well desire to be farther away.

But on the hill, at Longmeadow, the inhabitants can look on the agitations of the river from a more safe and secure retreat. Quiet reigns here, however great may be the disturbance in the valley below. Along this broad and beautiful thoroughfare the wheels of passing vehicles make little noise on the soft and sandy soil. A sacred stillness reigns along the street. It is a picture of ancient rest. At the minister's house, in this calm and pleasant old town, the subject of this memoir was born, in February, 1787.¹

¹ From the able and most worthy sermon preached by Dr. Edwards A. Park at the funeral of Dr. Storrs, and which has since been published in a style corresponding to its contents, we make the following extract.

"On his (Dr. Storrs) father's side, his first American progenitor was Rev. Richard Mather. This excellent divine, the son of Thomas Mather, who lived and died in England, was the father of Increase and grandfather of Cotton Mather. He was for some time a distinguished member of Brasenose College, Oxford, and there formed the acquaintance of many eminent scholars. The Bishop of his diocese entertained a high opinion of him while he was yet a young man. His descendants who have become clergymen are numbered, not so well by individuals as by scores. He was for twenty-three years the pastor of the church in Dorchester, Massachusetts, and died at the age of seventy-three.

"Eleazar Mather, one of his sons, was the immediate predecessor of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, at Northampton. He was the second American ancestor of Dr. Storrs. He did not attain to the age of his fathers nor to that of many of his descendants, but, after a ministry of eleven years, died at the age of thirty-two.

"Mr. Mather's daughter, bearing the old family name, Eunice, was married to Rev. John Williams, who was the pastor of the church at Deerfield, Massachusetts. She was killed with a hatchet by the Indians, who were driving her and her husband and children prisoners to Canada. Having survived his imprisonment, Mr. Williams died in the pastorate in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the forty-fourth of his ministry. He was the third American ancestor of Dr. Storrs. He was indeed the father and kinsman of clergymen. More than thirty of his

In order to compass the ends appropriate to an article of this kind within the limits allotted to us, we must pass briefly and rapidly over the events of this long life. In one sense it may be called a quiet, steady, uneventful life ; but in a higher and truer sense, it has been a very eventful one. It has linked itself with wide and diversified interests ; it has been eminently an active and public life ; it is blended closely, not only

descendants have become pastors of churches. Many of his relatives are enrolled among the more than ninety Williamses who are Alumni of Harvard College, and among the more than eighty who are Alumni of Yale. One of his kinsmen was the founder of Williams College.

"Dr. Storrs' ancestor of the fourth generation was Rev. Eleazar Williams, the eldest son of the Deerfield minister. For thirty-two years he was pastor of the church at Mansfield, Connecticut, and died at the age of fifty-four.

"His daughter Eunice was married to Dr. Shubael Conant, who was the fifth ancestor of Dr. Storrs. He was a descendant of Roger Conant, one of the first settlers of Massachusetts Bay. He, too, began his public life as a minister of the Gospel, but afterwards became a civil magistrate, a justice of the peace and the quorum, for the County of Windham, Connecticut.

"His daughter, keeping up the favorite name of Eunice, was married to Dr. Samuel Howe, who was the sixth paternal ancestor of Dr. Storrs. We are rather disappointed in finding that he was not a clergyman. He was a surgeon in the army that marched against Canada in the year 1759. He died at Montreal in 1760, of a disease contracted in the camp.

"His daughter was married to Rev. John Storrs, the grandfather of our departed friend, and his first clerical ancestor bearing the name of Storrs. He was born at the old family homestead at Mansfield, Connecticut ; was graduated at Yale College in 1756, a classmate with Judge Strong, Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins, and Dr. John Smalley ; was a tutor in College in 1761-2 ; was ordained pastor in Southold, L. I., 1763 ; was chaplain in the army during a part of the Revolutionary War ; resigned his pastoral charge in 1787 on account of his impaired health ; and died at his birthplace in 1799, aged sixty-five years. Being ardently attached to his brother-in-law, Rev. Dr. Richard Salter, of Mansfield, Connecticut, he gave to his son the name Richard Salter Storrs. This son was the father of Richard Salter Storrs who has just gone from us, and whose very appellation has a clerical sound. One hundred and ten years ago this name, Richard Salter Storrs, began to shine on the church records. When we hear of a layman called by these three words, we ask, Why was he not a clergyman ?

"Counting up the years devoted to the Christian ministry of our land by this one line of the ancestors of Dr. Storrs, and adding the years devoted by himself and his only son to the same work, we find the number of these years to be two hundred and sixty-seven. If we should attempt to add the years spent in the pastorates of our churches by the collateral lines of his father's family, and still further by his ancestors on his mother's side, we should see renewed occasion to reiterate the words which he repeated so often, and are parallel with our text : '*Know, therefore, that the Lord thy God, he is God, the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments, to a thousand generations.*' "

with the town of Braintree, but with the religious history of New England for more than half a century. But we can only glance at its main features and pass quickly on, because we desire to reserve some of our space for such general considerations as are naturally suggested by our theme.

The childhood and youth of Dr. Storrs were passed under circumstances quite peculiar. At the age of four years, in 1791, he was removed from his father's house in Longmeadow to live in the family of his grandfather Williston, minister at West Haven, Connecticut. This arrangement was by a kind of patriarchal law. As Mr. Williston's four children had grown up and gone from home, leaving the old parsonage house lonely and deserted, a claim was laid upon the eldest grandson, that he should come and fill the place of the absent ones and restore something of the old stir and life and noise about the mansion. The boy would have preferred to live at Longmeadow, with his father and mother and the younger children; but he obeyed the voice of parental and patriarchal authority, and made his abode through all those early years at West Haven.

This position had its advantages, as well as its disadvantages. He was thus brought very near to one of the established centres of culture and literary life, and he had an opportunity to see and hear many things which would serve as important germs of thought and feeling in his future development. Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, was then in the last years of his administration. He was seventy-four years old at the time young Storrs went to West Haven, and he died four years after, in 1795. But President Stiles was often at Rev. Mr. Williston's house, and the bright and observing boy took note of him, and had through all his life a clear recollection of him. He was once sent as a guide to the President, to conduct him across the fields to the height of a neighboring hill, where he might catch a sight of the Sound and of the surrounding country. In getting over a fence which was skirted with bushes, the President unfortunately lost his wig, and his young guide thought for a moment that he had quite a different man on his hands from the one with whom he set out.

Young Storrs was there during the coming in of President Dwight, and was an ear-witness and an eye-witness to the Christian zeal and energy and power which marked his early administration. He had now also grown to years of larger understanding, and could better weigh the meaning of what was passing around him; and so, though it was rather gloomy for the boy to be shut up alone in the house with two people now well advanced in life, yet we cannot doubt that those years were fruitful in suggestions to his quick and sagacious mind, and that they had much to do with his later activities.

He was there in 1802, when that wonderful work of grace was going on in the college, whereby it was changed from a place of prevailing infidelity, into which it had gradually lapsed, to a truly Christian institution. It happened once, at the very close of the last century, that on the occasion of the stated communion season at Yale, only one student appeared to partake at the Lord's Table with the Faculty. That student was Shubael Bartlett, of the class of 1800, afterwards minister, for fifty years, of the North Parish in East Windsor, Connecticut. It serves to mark the very low condition of the college, religiously, in those years, when we note the fact that the class of 1798, numbering *twenty-one*, furnished to the churches but *three* ministers; that of 1799, consisting of *twenty-six*, furnished *four* (of whom one was Moses Stuart); that of 1800, numbering *thirty-six*, gave but *three* (one of whom was Mr. Bartlett, before mentioned, and another the venerable Thomas Williams, of Providence); and that of 1801, numbering *thirty-eight*, furnished but *three* ministers, — and most of these had not the ministry in view, while in college. And now, as the fruit of the revival in 1802, note the change which immediately took place: The class of 1802 gives us *seventeen* ministers; the class of 1803, *sixteen*, and the class of 1804, *twenty-one*. To use the language of the late Prof. Goodrich, with regard to this revival, "It was generally understood, at the time, that out of two hundred and thirty students then in college, about one third, in the course of the revival, were hopefully converted to God."¹

¹ "Early in the spring of 1802, indications of a gracious answer to their prayers began to appear. A member of the senior class, who had long been attentive to

We have been the more particular in this statement because the conversion of young Storrs stands closely connected with this work of grace at the college. Though living in West Haven, four miles away, he was, in a sense, in the very midst of this awakening. The currents of thought and emotion flowed quickly and naturally from the college to the neighboring parsonage, every phase of the work was reported there by students and professors; and the mind of the growing boy was thus enveloped in an intensely religious atmosphere. For a time he tried to fortify himself against these influences, though his conscience and heart were ill at ease. At the earnest desire of his grandfather, and against his own inclinations, he was present on the first Sabbath in August, 1802, when thirty-two students, as a part of the fruits of the revival, were to be admitted to the College church. We may be very sure, as he looked upon a scene like this, then so unusual and strange in the college, that his thoughts were busy within him.

Not long before, one of the students had given him a copy of Doddridge's "Rise and Progress," earnestly desiring that he would read it. He took the book, but rather with the determination not to read it. He laid it away in the till of his chest as a place of safe deposit; but as often as he had occasion to go to his chest, the book confronted him and disturbed his peace. Finally (and this was very soon after the Sabbath experience mentioned above) he read the book, and the eyes of his understanding were enlightened, and he began to behold wondrous things out of God's law. His heart melted in tenderness, and he then and there resolved that his life should be a life of service for God. This was in the early part of August, 1802.

In the fall of 1802, at the age of fifteen, he entered the Sophomore Class. The Gospel, which was now so established in hope that he was propounded to the Church, and on the first Sabbath in March, was received. About this time another member of the same class was so impressed with his everlasting concerns, and so smitten with conviction of sin, that his anxiety could not be concealed, until it terminated, as it soon did, in consolation and peace. This was Jeremiah Evarts; and so clear was his experience, and so distinct, comprehensive, and settled were his views of the Gospel, that at the next succeeding communion, in April, he also was received into the church."

Revivals of Religion in Yale College—Prof. Goodrich. — *Quarterly Register*, Vol. 4, p. 295.

more class of Yale College. His easy and natural scholarship is shown in the fact that he was able, at so early an age, to enter the college with this advanced standing. Had he gone regularly through his course he would have graduated at the age of eighteen, and very likely, according to the customs of that time, would have been in the ministry at the age of twenty. But after struggling a year with ill-health, he was obliged to leave the college. He went home to his father's house at Longmeadow, and wrought patiently upon the farm; for his father, like most of the early New England ministers, had a small farm, partly of his own purchase and partly given in his settlement. There were no summer boat-races on the river at that time to disturb the quiet toilers in those fair fields of Longmeadow; there were no tumultuous crowds hurrying along the green and pleasant shores, shouting in mad excitement, all earthly interests centred, for the moment, in the one question, whether Harvard or Yale or Dartmouth or some other college should come out first. The disappointed student from Yale, who had become a tiller of the ground and toiled on these river banks in 1803-4, had abundant time for quiet reflection. But he was drinking in healthful influences from the soil and from outward nature. This home life was diversified also by school-teaching. In the winter of 1803-4, when but sixteen years old, he took charge of a district school in West Suffield, boarding around the district. This is an experience which served as a kind of liberal education to a young man, especially in the department of common-sense and practical wisdom. He also taught school in Longmeadow the following summer, and in West Haven the following winter.

Then he was invited by Rev. Lyman Beecher to go to East Hampton, Long Island, where Mr. Beecher had been seven years in the ministry, and take charge of Clinton Academy in that place. It was a responsible post for a young man, only eighteen years old, but he accepted the invitation, and so became a member of Mr. Beecher's family. This was Dr. Beecher's first settlement; he was then a young man of only thirty years. Of Mr. Storrs' experience in this household, we choose to copy his own words:—

"When eighteen years old, I received the charge of Clinton

Academy, East Hampton, through the favor of Dr. Beecher. For the succeeding year and a half I boarded in the doctor's family, and into a more delightful one a timid and invalid youth has never fallen. Earnest piety and chaste humor, music and instructive conversation, regular inmates, and visiting friends from all quarters, animated discussions on theological subjects, on the history of the past, the prospects of the future, as well as on passing events, whether in the sitting-room or at the table, furnished a perpetual feast for the immortal mind."

Mr. Storrs remained in charge of this academy a year and a half, which brings us along to the autumn of 1806. At that time he returned to his grandfather's house and to New Haven with health partially restored, having it in mind to connect himself again with Yale College. But when he went back to the old college buildings, and paced along the yard, finding his companions all graduated and passed off into the world, and an entire new college generation on the ground, he felt

"— like one who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted."

If he must form entirely new associations, he preferred to do it on new ground, where the ghosts of old friendships should not come back to trouble him. So he hastened away to Williams College, and as he had carried forward his studies to a considerable extent in the interim, he joined the Senior class, and graduated in 1807 at the age of twenty.¹

Then, that no more time might be lost, he went directly back to Long Island in the autumn of 1807, and established himself in the family of Rev. Aaron Woolworth, D. D., of Bridgehampton, for the purpose of studying theology. Bridgehampton was only six miles from East Hampton, so that he was within easy reach of the associations and companionships which he had formed there. Perhaps this fact had something

¹ The name Storrs is not so common on our College Catalogues as some others. The names Smith and Williams head the list. But there have been a goodly number of graduates of the name Storrs. Without any search among Western Colleges, we find, here at the East, that Yale has sent forth *eleven*; Dartmouth, *nine*; Amherst, *seven*; Middlebury, *five*; Union, *two*; Williams, *one*; and Princeton, *one*, making in all *thirty-six*. Singularly enough, Harvard, the oldest of all our colleges, has never graduated a man of this name.

to do in leading him to that place ; but what was more effectual, probably, was the fact that Dr. Woolworth was himself a native of Longmeadow, a ripe and judicious scholar, and well fitted by his attainments to train a young student in theology.

The methods of teaching theology in the ministers' families, as was the custom of that day, were doubtless substantially the same in different places, though varied in the minor details, according to the genius and idiosyncracies of the teachers. Quite a number of our old New England ministers became famous in their day and generation as teachers of theological students. Dr. Joseph Bellamy, of Bethlem, Connecticut ; Dr. John Smalley, of Berlin, Connecticut ; Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut ; and Dr. Charles Backus, of Somers, Connecticut ; Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, of Franklin, Massachusetts ; Dr. Asa Burton, of Thetford, Vermont ; Dr. Walter Harris, of Dunbarton, New Hampshire, and others, gave instruction in theology to such numbers that their houses became like little theological seminaries. Dr. Charles Backus, of Somers, was approbated by the General Association of Connecticut as a suitable theological teacher, and he instructed, in his day, not far from fifty students. Dr. Emmons, of Franklin, gave instruction to nearly one hundred.

But while this work was going on, in its larger proportions, at these favorite centres, there were scattered cases in all directions. We do not understand that Dr. Woolworth, with whom Mr. Storrs studied, was ever largely employed in theological instruction ; but he was an able and scholarly man, had known young Storrs from his infancy, was a warm friend of his father, was a native of Longmeadow, and the selection was altogether natural.

The method of instruction pursued by Dr. Woolworth, in the case of young Storrs, was as follows : He drew up some forty or fifty carefully prepared and comprehensive questions, ranging over the general field of theological knowledge. He indicated the authors to be studied and the books to be read for gaining the answers to these questions. There were no set and formal recitations, but upon each of these topics a written essay was to be prepared, which was afterwards to be read, criti-

cised, and discussed. The education went on, also, by free and familiar conversations "in the house and by the way," and the young student was prepared for pastoral work by visiting the families of the parish, and attending social meetings for prayer and conference, and exercising his gifts in them.

It was essentially the same method employed by Dr. Emmons in his instructions. Rev. Thomas Williams, who was one of Dr. Emmons' students, says that the doctor's course was, to designate the ablest authors, *pro* and *con*, to be read and studied for the solution of theological questions; then, upon the various topics, he required written essays to be presented, which were to be thoroughly discussed; afterwards he set his pupils upon the work of preparing sermons. He commonly spent a portion of each evening with his students in familiar and miscellaneous conversation.

Mr. Storrs passed nearly a year in Dr. Woolworth's family, engaged in these theological studies. In August, 1808, he was licensed to preach by the Suffolk Presbytery, Long Island, and was placed in a kind of spiritual charge of two small parishes, Islip and Smithtown, lying seventeen miles apart, on the opposite sides of the Island. He was now twenty-one years of age, and he entered upon this work with all the force and enthusiasm of his nature. Besides his resources of thought, he had that magic power of tongue, that kindling eloquence, which stirs the hearts of men. These parishes were in a very low and depressed condition at the time he took charge of them, but a precious revival of religion soon followed, and as the result of his brief stay, more than thirty were added to these churches: these were the precious first-fruits of his long ministerial life, and served to indicate that he was a servant owned and accepted of God. It was earnestly desired that he should remain here. Each of these churches would gladly have chosen him for a pastor.

But in this year, 1808, the Theological Seminary at Andover, then a novelty in the land, opened its doors for a more thorough and extended course of theological culture than had before been enjoyed, and Mr. Storrs, desiring to become a "workman that needeth not to be ashamed," determined to forego these and other inviting calls to labor, that he might

share in the advantages of more protracted study. In May, 1809, he took up his abode at Andover, and remained there as a student nearly two years. He was thus brought into a large companionship with young men of earnest Christian zeal, as also with elderly men of ripe scholarship and experience. Several of the young men who became the early missionaries of the American Board were there,—Adoniram Judson, Gordon Hall, Samuel Nott, and Samuel Newell. Samuel J. Mills was there, who had so large an influence in those early missionary movements. Gardner Spring was there, afterwards one of the most effective and powerful pulpit orators in the land. In such companionship, with such opportunities of culture, aided also by the experiences through which he had already passed, we cannot doubt that he added largely to his resources for future usefulness.

And now we come to one of those little events — little they seem at the time — on which the whole subsequent life hangs. On a Sabbath in September, 1810, Samuel Nott had engaged to supply the pulpit at Braintree, but he met with an accident on Saturday, and engaged Mr. Storrs to go in his place. The Sabbath proved wild, stormy, gloomy. Only a few hearers assembled. But the awakening eloquence of the youthful preacher made a deep impression upon those who were present; they prevailed upon him to preach three Sabbaths more; the people, who were looking anxiously for a pastor, insisted that they had at length found the man they wanted. But impediments were in the way. He had engaged to go South, and spend the following winter in Georgia; he felt bound, in honor, to fulfil that engagement. He accepted the call, at length, on condition that the ordination should be deferred till spring, and that his friend, Gordon Hall, should, in the meantime, supply the pulpit at Braintree. He spent a winter of great activity at the South, preaching alike to the negroes and the whites, and so commended himself to earnest and thoughtful men that they greatly desired his stay. A church in Georgia gave him a call, and he seems to have been desirous of going as far as he could honorably, but no farther, towards accepting that call; but the people of Braintree felt they had the prior claim upon him, and events were so overruled

that he was ordained at Braintree, on the third day of July, 1811.¹

Having now brought Mr. Storrs to his fixed habitation and long settlement at Braintree,² where he has been so publicly and widely known, there is less need that we should dwell upon the minute facts of his life.

This was near the beginning of that stormy period in the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts, whereby the old churches and parishes were rent asunder, and a new order of things was introduced and established. It was a day of "strife and debate and smiting with the fist of wickedness." The neighboring parish of Dorchester was already involved in a fierce struggle, which had, at last, a different termination from many of the contests that came afterwards. It was a period demanding wisdom and firmness in the Evangelical pastors. Happily, the parish at Braintree was saved from these bitter contentions; the storm raged without, but here the people were satisfied with their young minister, and lived at peace with him.

All those who have heard Dr. Storrs preach in the energy of his youth, or even in his riper manhood, before his natural

¹ "The introductory prayer at the ordination was offered by Rev. Jonathan Strong, D. D., of West Randolph; the sermon was preached by Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, of Longmeadow; the consecrating prayer was offered by Rev. Samuel Niles, of Abington; the charge to the pastor was given by the Moderator of the Council, Rev. Mr. Williams, of South Weymouth; the right hand of fellowship by Rev. Jacob Norton, of North Weymouth, who afterwards became a Unitarian; the concluding prayer was offered by Rev. Samuel Gile, of Milton. All these pastors have gone — some of them went more than half a century ago — to their graves. The seventy members forming this church at that time — twenty men and fifty women — have also passed on. Since that time four hundred and twenty-two persons have been admitted to the church; four hundred and eighty have been baptized; four hundred and twenty-seven marriages and seven hundred and thirty-six funerals have been attended in the parish; and there have been six, perhaps we may say seven, periods of religious revival." — *Prof. Park's Funeral Sermon.*

² At the beginning of Dr. Storrs' ministry at Braintree, his ministerial neighbors, living within easy exchange, were Rev. Joshua Bates, D. D., of Dedham, afterwards president of Middlebury College; Rev. John Codman, D. D., of Dorchester, at that time twenty-nine years of age; Rev. Jacob Flint, of Cohasset; Rev. Samuel Gile, of Milton; Rev. Jonathan Strong, D. D., of Randolph; Rev. Peter Whitney, of Quincy; Rev. Jacob Norton, of North Weymouth; Rev. Simeon Williams, of South Weymouth; Rev. Joseph Richardson, of the First Church, Hingham; and Rev. Nicholas B. Whitney, of the Second Church, Hingham.

force was abated, will bear prompt and ready testimony to the strength and eloquence of his pulpit performances. He had, to a remarkable degree, an ease, a grace and felicity, an awakening power in the devotional exercises as well as in the sermon; and these gifts and graces of his were, in an important sense, inherited, and they have been safely transmitted to his son of the same name. In Sprague's *Annals of the Congregational Pulpit* (vol. 2d, p. 257 and onward) we have the brief biography of Dr. Storrs' father, Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, of Longmeadow.¹ In a letter of Rev. Daniel Waldo, who was for eighteen years the near neighbor of the Longmeadow pastor, the writer has described to us the same mental qualities and characteristics that we find in the Braintree pastor. Mr. Waldo says, "He was a large, strongly-built man, with strong features and a bold, earnest expression that gave you an idea that he had great energy at his command. And the idea was fully in accordance with truth. His intellect was unquestionably of a very high order; he had also a warm, confiding, and loving heart. . . . He was singularly felicitous in his devotional exercises. Few men could touch all the circumstances belonging to a special occasion so felicitously as he. If he prayed at an ordination, for instance, it would not be simply an ordaining prayer, but a prayer for that particular ordination, bringing to view whatever belonged to the occasion that was striking or distinctive."

While writing this article we received a call from a friend, now a Presbyterian minister, who was born and reared at Little Compton, Rhode Island. Speaking to him of Dr. Storrs, he said that more than fifty years ago, when he was but a little child, there appeared in the pulpit of Little Compton, one

¹ There are many persons yet living who remember well the old Longmeadow minister, who died in 1819. Since writing the above, we have conversed with an intelligent and estimable lady of Boston, who was a native of Longmeadow, and who, through her childhood and youth and up to early womanhood, attended upon Mr. Storrs' ministry. She describes him as a man of great eloquence and power in the pulpit. She remembers well a sermon preached by him in her childhood, on the text, "Looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens, being on fire, shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat." So bold and graphic were the descriptions, so life-like and awe-inspiring was the picture, that she went home under strong mental agitation and trouble.

Sunday afternoon, a young minister, whose name was Richard Salter Storrs, of Braintree, Massachusetts. So impressive was his manner, so rousing his eloquence, that this boy has brought with him to this day a clear recollection of the scene and even of the text. The words of Scripture from which he spoke were, "And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth," etc. An incident of this kind reveals the magnetism which Dr. Storrs had over his audiences, and helps us to understand, in some measure, the secret of his power.

In the early days of Dr. Storrs' ministry there was in the church of Dorchester a young member who has since given three of her sons to the ministry, and has now passed away, by death. We have her testimony, transmitted by one of her sons, that when Dr. Storrs came to Dorchester, as he frequently did, on exchange with Dr. Codman, there was a thrilling power in his pulpit performances which she found in the preaching of no one else. The Sabbaths when he was there were memorable days to her, and, we doubt not, she spoke the common mind.

Dr. Storrs was not only an able and eloquent minister in his own congregation and in his exchanges, but he had those qualities of mind and heart, those powers and faculties of persuasion, that made him widely sought after for more general labors and cares. He had risen into life, and had come forward upon the scene of action in the forming period of our great benevolent organizations. He was alive with the feelings and principles out of which those organizations had sprung into being. He had lived in the very house in Connecticut where, in an important sense, the Connecticut Missionary Society—the oldest of the kind in New England—had been born, and that, too, during the time of his residence there. He had been intimately associated at Andover with young men burning with foreign missionary zeal. He participated keenly in the feeling that a far larger number of educated ministers was needed to carry the Gospel West and South, and to the lands lying in heathenism. And when the various benevolent societies were formed for the wider diffusion of Christianity, they turned to him, as to one of a quick speech and an eloquent tongue, who could rouse the churches and

animate them with his own fire. Prof. Park, in his Funeral Sermon, by a few compressed sentences, bristling with figures, has given us such an enlarged idea of these public labors that we can do nothing so appropriate in this connection as to copy them.¹

The passage quoted, when duly meditated upon and properly expanded, gives us a graphic idea of the multifarious industry of Dr. Storrs through all his early and middle life, and even, in a measure, down to old age.

In the year 1818, when he had been seven years in the ministry, worn down with long trial and anxiety and watching in connection with the sickness and death of his first wife, he took leave of his people for six months, and went South in the

¹"As a Home Missionary, he visited every year several towns in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, among them the present city of Fall River, which was then a 'waste place.' From 1820 to 1854 he was a Trustee, from 1827 to 1838 he was the Secretary, from 1855 to 1858 he was the President, of the Massachusetts Missionary Society. In 1833, 1834, 1835 he was Associate Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society for the New England States. From 1837 to 1847 he was a Director, since 1847 he has been a Vice-President, of the American Home Missionary Society. In 1831 he obtained a dismission from his church for five years, in order that he might spend all his time, as he had previously spent a part of it, in the cause of Home Missions. As the General Agent for the American Home Missionary Society for New England, he labored, as he was wont to do, beyond his strength. The value of his agency during the first two or three years has been described in the Annual Reports of the Massachusetts and the American Home Missionary Societies. His labors have thus been taken out of the sphere of biography into that of more general history. Feeble churches were inspired by his stirring words; laggard parishes were waked up by his loud calls; persecuted churches felt strong as they listened to the martial eloquence of a man who seemed to be sent among them as a warrior against fraud and oppression. The tones of his voice resounded like a bugle among the hills and valleys of New England. . . .

"He was one of the earliest agents in forming Sabbath School Societies and Temperance Societies, and in defending them when established. Five years, from 1820 to 1825, he served as the Recording Secretary of the American Tract Society. In 1824 the now venerable William A. Hallock was chosen Assistant Secretary. Nine years, from 1821 to 1830, he was a laborious Director of the American Education Society. In 1867 he was elected a Vice-President of the Congregational Board of Publication; for at least seventeen years he did a good work in criticising theological treatises for this Society. Eight years, from 1848 to 1856, he was a member of the Board of Visitors of Andover Theological Seminary."

We may add, that it was during the absence of Dr. Storrs on these public missions that Prof. Park became pastor at Braintree, preaching there from 1831 to 1834, thus becoming most intimately acquainted with Dr. Storrs himself and with the people of the parish.

service of the American Education Society. That organization was then two years old, and in the cordial union existing between Presbyterians and Congregationalists, it had extended its operations North and South, and over every part of the land. Dr. Storrs was eminently successful in this mission, as he was apt to be in the enterprises which he undertook. During his absence he raised, in the States of Georgia and South Carolina, not far from \$8,000.

From 1817 to 1825 he was prominently connected with the *Boston Recorder*, when that paper was in its very infancy, and when a distinctly religious newspaper was more a novelty than now. He contributed, not occasionally but regularly, one, two, three, and four articles a week; and the writer of this can bear testimony that in 1850, when the *Congregationalist* was about as old as the *Recorder* was in 1817, Dr. Storrs again put on the editorial harness and came to its help. He was for a considerable period one of the associated editors of that paper, the three meeting in Boston on Monday forenoons, to read to each other the articles they had severally prepared, compare notes, criticise and adjust the material, and so make up the editorial page for the week. He was then sixty-three years of age, but he held the pen of a ready writer, and always contributed his full share of the editorial matter needed; he was young in spirit, young and fresh in his ideas, taking advanced positions on the great questions of the day, the most prominent of which then, and long after, was American Slavery.

But in reference to the ministerial and public labors of Dr. Storrs, it is necessary that we make a pause somewhere, and we have perhaps said all that is needed to give a general idea of his immense activity. By natural impulse and by habit he loved work.¹ He wrote sermons in his extreme old age, when he was too feeble to preach them, and was under no pressure whatever to write them: he wrote for the pleasure he found in so doing. He carried into his daily life a rigid system

¹ Dr. Storrs brought from the old New England customs the habit of early rising. The hour of breakfast, the year round, in the minister's house at Braintree, was 6 o'clock. As soon as might be, afterwards, he was in his study, and he liked his forenoons unbroken, for work. Important calls, in the forenoon, he was ever ready to attend to; but unimportant ones he left to the family below, and his wife was to exercise her judgment whether his presence was or was not needed.

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which, of itself, accomplishes wonders. Even in his physical exercise, he was as systematic as in his studies. His comfortable old wood-house, if it were endowed with speech, could bear testimony that the music of the saw was heard there, at the appointed hour of the day, year after year, with almost unvarying regularity : it was a part of his plan for securing health and vigor for his literary work. Some men might have found this physical exertion injurious to their hours of study ; with them, there might have been, in the reaction, a lassitude and torpor of mind : but he was firmly persuaded that it suited him and fitted him for mental labor.

Dr. Storrs' ministry at Braintree lasted a little more than sixty-two years, and was an active and working ministry until within a comparatively short period before his death ; but he was a licensed preacher three years before his settlement, and had preached, as we have seen, with remarkable energy and success in 1808, on Long Island, and afterwards at the South, so that his term of ministerial service may be reckoned at sixty-five years.¹

¹ Dr. Storrs' ministry at Braintree adds another to the long pastorates of New England. There are others, indeed, that have been longer than his, but they are comparatively few in number. A distinction is to be made between a long continued ministry in one place and a long ministerial life without a fixed settlement. One of the most noteworthy cases of this latter kind, in our New England history, is that of the late Rev. Daniel Waldo. He was born at Windham, Connecticut, in 1762, and died in 1864, one hundred and two years old. He was late in his education, did not graduate at Yale College till he was twenty-six, but was licensed to preach in the following year [1789]. From the time he began to preach till his death was the round period of seventy-five years, and he continued to preach till near the time of his death. Those who heard his address before the alumni of Yale College, when he was ninety-six years old, will bear testimony that his faculties, at that time, were in lively exercise ; he spoke with much of the vivacity and force and even playfulness of a young man.

There was also a remarkable instance of ministerial longevity in our earlier history, when men did not live, upon an average, as long as now. The venerable Rev. John Higginson, who died at Salem in 1708, at the age of ninety-two, really began his ministerial work in 1636, as Chaplain of the fort at Saybrook, Connecticut. He had been twenty-four years in the work of the ministry in Connecticut before settling at Salem, and his ministry there lasted forty-eight years, so that his whole ministerial service covered the period of seventy-two years. The celebrated Dr. Nathaniel Emmons was pastor at Franklin for fifty-four years ; but he had been a licensed preacher four years before his settlement there, and he resigned the pastoral office thirteen years before his death. From the beginning to the end of his ministerial life was a period of seventy-one years. The venerable

Dr. Storrs also adds another to those notable cases of long life proceeding from a feeble and sickly youth. Such cases, though seemingly strange, are not uncommon. The most remarkable instance we have at present in mind is that of the late President Day, of Yale College. He suffered seriously in his youth and early manhood, and was almost given over by his friends, was feeble in middle life, so that a sudden death from heart difficulties was feared for many years, and yet he lived on to the great age of ninety-four. We have seen that Dr. Storrs' youth was a long struggle with disease, but he came out of it all into a most active manhood and a remarkably vigorous old age. This is due, probably, in some good degree, to

Thomas Williams, still living at Providence, was licensed as a preacher of the Gospel in 1803, and until recently he has been wont to exercise his gift, sometimes with a notable energy. It is now seventy-one years since the beginning of his ministerial work. These are some of the more remarkable instances that occur to us, of a long ministerial life. Some of these men had long pastorates also, and some of them had not.

The longest continued ministry in one place that we have happened to discover among the Congregational churches of New England is that of Rev. Nathan Buckham, of Medway, who was settled at that place in 1724, and died in office in 1795, after a ministry of seventy-one years. Seven years before his death, a colleague was settled with him, but he resigned at the end of five years; and at the time of Mr. Buckham's death, he appears, by the records, to have been sole pastor. The ministry of the celebrated Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury, lasted fifty-eight years, and that of his successor, Rev. Nehemiah Walter, sixty-two years. This is, perhaps, the most remarkable case in our history of the length of two successive ministries. From the date of Mr. Eliot's settlement in 1632 to the death of Mr. Walter in 1750, we have the period of one hundred and eighteen years, and this notwithstanding their ministries overlapped, — Mr. Walter being Mr. Eliot's colleague for two years, and Mr. Eliot being twenty-eight years old at the time of his settlement. The ministry of Rev. Thomas Smith, of Portland, Maine, was one of sixty-eight years, from 1727 to 1795; that of Dr. Brown Emerson, of Salem, sixty-seven years, from 1805 to 1872, though for quite a number of years before his death, he had retired from the active duties of the pastoral office. Rev. Thomas Lancaster, of Rowley, had a settled ministry of sixty-six years. Dr. Nathan Perkins, of West Hartford, Connecticut, one of sixty-six years; and Rev. Stephen Williams, as we have already noticed, was sole pastor at Longmeadow for sixty-six years. The father of Jonathan Edwards, Rev. Timothy Edwards, of East Windsor, had a continued ministry of sixty-four years; and the celebrated Dr. John Smalley, of New Britain, Connecticut (formerly Berlin), of sixty-two years. The venerable Dr. Ide, still living at West Medway, has had a ministry of sixty years, and Dr. John Nelson, of Leicester, who died recently, had filled out a life term.

These are not all the long ministries of New England, but they may stand as examples.

the care which one learns to take of himself, so that he becomes his own best nurse ; but there are also mysterious laws in the human system which baffle all conjecture.

There were two boys who started out of the Longmeadow parsonage to obtain a public education for the ministry. It was a large household of ten children from which they came. The other boys had good Scripture names, such as David and Jonathan and Eleazar, but these two had secular though ministerial names : the one was named from his father, and more remotely from Rev. Richard Salter, D. D., of Mansfield, Connecticut ; the other was named after his father's warm friend, the celebrated Dr. Charles Backus, of Somers, Connecticut. These two boys passed through similar fortunes and experiences in early life,¹ and they both became men of marked ability and commanding influence, the one dying early, and the other living to a serene and beautiful old age.

The story is repeated again, with variations. There were two boys in the Braintree parsonage, differing in age about as their fathers had differed before them, — the one the son of the elder brother named above, and the other the son of the younger. The latter was left to the fostering care and kindness of his uncle on the death of the father in 1833. These two boys also obtain an education for the ministry, and are now

¹ There is a striking similarity in the *early* experiences of these brothers. We have traced with sufficient minuteness the course of the elder. Let us notice how the younger seemed to move, in some respects, in the same tracks. Charles Backus Storrs was seven years younger than Richard Salter, having been born May 23, 1794. When sixteen years old he entered Princeton College, and was the first scholar of his class ; but his health failed during his college course, and he was obliged to leave. He too went back to manual labor at Longmeadow to try and restore his health ; he too went over to Long Island and studied theology with Dr. Woolworth, was licensed to preach, and labored for some months with two small churches on the Island. He also felt the need of a larger theological culture, and connected himself with Andover Seminary in 1817, and remained three years ; he too, when he had finished his studies at Andover, in 1820, went immediately to the South, and was ordained an Evangelist at Charleston in Jan. 1821. Here his health failed, and he came North to recruit. In a journey for health, he went out to Ohio, and his heart was drawn towards that region as a field of labor. He labored there as a missionary for six years ; then he was chosen (in 1828) Professor of Theology in Western Reserve College. Two or three years afterwards he was elected President of the college. In the month of August, 1833, he came to Braintree, to his brother's house, in a feeble state, and died there on the Sabbath morning, Sept. 15, 1833, at the early age of thirty-nine.

in the midday of their strength and usefulness, — the one as the well-known pastor at Brooklyn, New York, and the other filling the honored office which his revered uncle had filled before him, that of Associate Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society. Surely, the old days return; the cycles of family history strangely repeat themselves. "Instead of the fathers, shall be the children."

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways."

No one can have been much acquainted with Dr. Storrs without noticing in him a habit of reverence as one of his marked characteristics, — reverence towards God and towards good and great men. While he had a truly progressive and aggressive spirit, he had also, to a remarkable degree, a respect for others. All through his early life this feeling is distinctly traceable. He loved and honored his father and mother, his grandfather and grandmother; he revered his teachers, he did obeisance to his elders, he looked up with a simple and genuine regard to the good men and the good women about him. In the language we have quoted from him, descriptive of his life in Dr. Beecher's family, we discover clearly this habit of mind. He was grateful for his surroundings. It was a high privilege to be so associated; it was a daily education of mind and heart. It was like him to say of all this that it was "a perpetual feast for the immortal mind." When he went to Andover Seminary in 1809, he went as to a costly banquet that had been spread for him. He did not go there to instruct his teachers, but to be instructed by them. Upon his eager and thirsty mind, their words fell like the rain, and their wisdom distilled as the dew.

From thirty-five to forty years ago, in Yale College, Prof. Kingsley used sometimes to give to the Senior class a short course of lectures which he had prepared on the nice and delicate questions of History, and on the various sources from which historical knowledge itself could be drawn. The lectures were so unique in their beauty and richness that all thoughtful students felt it a great privilege to hear them; but we remember one flippant young man who used to bring to the lecture-

room a novel, or some other book, and ensconce himself in a secluded corner for reading, as if he would say, "No man can teach me anything; these lectures are of small account to a person of my reading and understanding." We instance this case the better, by contrast, to describe the feeling and habit of young Storrs. He was as far from this silly self-conceit as the heaven is above the earth. He believed that older men — men of education and experience — knew more than he did, and he sat at their feet waiting for instruction.

This very law and habit of mind are seen in the house which he early built at Braintree, and which has been, for so long a term of years, his earthly home. If one could be transferred instantly from the ancient parsonage-house, still standing in its old-fashioned neatness and order, in Longmeadow, to the minister's house in Braintree, he would hardly be aware of any change of habitation. The material surroundings, the outward aspects of nature, would be quite different: but within, all the general features would seem natural and familiar; the halls, the rooms, the stairways, the windows, and even the pictures on the walls, would be so much like those he had left behind that he would be somewhat puzzled if told that he was a hundred miles away from Longmeadow. The love which Dr. Storrs cherished for his birthplace and early home, the reverence he had for his father, then living, and his sainted mother in the heavens, made him desire to reproduce this ancient dwelling-place.¹ Both houses have been so carefully preserved, so neatly kept, that one could hardly tell which were the older. They are wide, ample, generous mansions, made for use, made for hospitality, made for comfort and not for show. We confess to a certain feeling of liberty and enlargement when we go from the splendors of some modern palace, which wealth has reared, to the quiet neatness and amplitude of one of these well-kept ancient dwellings.

There was in Dr. Storrs also a large-heartedness, showing itself in generous words and in generous acts. In exhorting others to give money for the various causes of benevolence, as he had had occasion, in his life-time, so often and so urgently

¹ The house at Longmeadow is still owned and occupied by Mr. Eleazar Williams Storrs, younger brother of Dr. Storrs.

to do, he had not himself forgotten the grace of giving. Many a secretary and agent can bear witness, after preaching for some benevolent organization in the Braintree pulpit, that he has been surprised at the largeness of Dr. Storrs' personal contribution. If the offering by the people had, for any reason, been too small, he would give it a better aspect, fill it out to more suitable proportions from his own purse. In this respect, he seemed to have for his people a kind of shielding, covering spirit, such as a mother feels for the child she loves, when that child has not come up to the measure of its duty, or has been guilty of some misconduct.

For many years now, Dr. Storrs has had no child to live with him, and comfort him in his declining age. He has, however, had the joy and pride, such as a father might well feel, in the fame and reputation of his only son, and in that also of his nephew, whom he had owned and treated as his son. But though children have been absent from the Braintree parsonage, he has been ministered unto with all the kindness and care that children could have offered him. With a wife, though feeble in health, yet gentle, affectionate, cheerful, and happy; with a younger sister of his, ever ready to help and comfort; with a niece who has been with him for many years as a daughter; and with another niece, his special attendant during his last sickness, it is hardly possible to conceive what could have been done to lighten the burdens of age that has not been done for him. The life in that mansion has been, for many years, a quiet, equal, orderly life, but exceedingly beautiful in its Christian grace and courtesy and simplicity. It was like a benediction to be there, at the table, at the family worship, in the study, or in the genial and gentle-toned conversations of the parlor.

One of our Congregational ministers, who, some ten or twelve years ago, made his home, for a season, in Dr. Storrs' family, bears the following pleasant testimony concerning the manner of life he found there. He says:—

"Nothing seemed to go wrong or get out of order in that household. It was a sort of unbroken Sabbath. And yet the busy activities of life went forward, and the household had its full share of bodily infirmities and little ills. Yet the orderly and just ways, the graceful amenities of a

sweet domestic life seemed to pervade everything. There was an old-fashioned shine to the kitchen floor, which it did not seem to lose even on Mondays and baking days; and the snugly-kept wood-shed where Dr. Storrs used to saw wood daily, — oh, what lessons could it teach of restored mental vigor!

"And the study, where so many sermons had been written and so many prayers offered,—there was method there, in every book and paper, that *seemed*, but only *seemed*, out of place. I wrote my first sermons in that study, and felt what a tremendous and perilous advantage they were gaining from the inspiration that oozed from the very walls. And who that has ever slept in 'Sleepy Hollow,' as it came to be called,—that honored guest-chamber of the venerable mansion,—did not feel that his sleeping and waking must be of the 'most straightest sect,' for many generations were looking down upon him? It would be hard to tell who had the best of it, when the sparkling conversation went round among the not always grave heads of the household. More than one member of it excelled in the 'art of putting things'; and this playful repartee was one of the charms of life at the Braintree parsonage, joined as it was with habitual reverence and instinctive delicacy of feeling. The household worship seemed, not like a sudden turn of a kaleidoscope, but as an intense and grateful refreshing, because in harmony with that which went before and that which came after."

This passage well illustrates and abundantly confirms all that we have said of the well-ordered life in Dr. Storrs' house.

Dr. Storrs, of Braintree, had three wives. The first was Miss Sarah Strong Woodhull, daughter of Rev. Nathan Woodhull, of Newtown, Long Island. They were united in marriage April 2, 1812. Her two children died in early life, and she, herself, died April 6, 1818. He married again, Sept. 16, 1819, Miss Harriet Moore, of Charlestown. She was the mother of his only son, now living. She died July 10, 1834. In Oct. 1835, he was again united in marriage to Miss Anne Stebbins, daughter of Rev. Stephen Williams Stebbins, of West Haven, Connecticut. She survives him.¹

¹ It is very noticeable, in the earlier periods of our New England history, that the ministers generally sought their wives in the families of ministers. There was at that time, much more than now, those class distinctions which had been brought from the older and aristocratic society of England; the democratic leaven had not then pervaded the masses to the degree it has since done. And as the royal families of the Old World made their marriage alliances with royal families, so here the sons and daughters of ministers very commonly married the sons and daughters of ministers.

How generally this custom prevailed may be seen by a glance at some of the ministers' families in those parishes on the river above and below Longmeadow

Dr. Storrs had long outlived his generation, and was, in some sense, as one alone on the earth. At the end of his "threescore years and ten," he was in strong working vigor, his bodily powers and his mental faculties in lively exercise. When he had numbered up his "fourscore years," he had still the general charge of his pulpit and his parish, with some assistance. But he lived on yet, six years longer, until the burden of years weighed upon him, and he was willing and waiting "to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord."

One who, thirty-five years ago, was settled in the ministry as a near neighbor of Dr. Storrs, and who has always been intimate, a favorite guest we may say, at the Braintree parsonage, gives us the following life-like and charming picture of what he saw and heard there, as this long life was drawing to its close:—

"A few months previous to the death of Dr. Storrs, we spent a Sabbath at his house. Defective sight and hearing rendered reading and conversation difficult, and in quiet meditation he was awaiting the summons from the farther shore. As the twilight of that brief October day came on, a member of the family read the sixty-second Psalm. After the reading was finished, he moved very near to his wife, to converse, as was evidently their wont, on themes appropriate to the day. With voices weakened by age and sickness, and with greatly impeded hearing, conversation was very difficult. Alluding to the third verse of the Psalm read ('as a bowing wall shall ye be, and as a tottering fence'), he said to his wife, 'That means us.'—'Yes,' was the reply, 'you bow and I totter.' Their further conversation I do not recall, till, in response to something he said, she remarked, 'That does not mean us; that means the wicked.'—'But are we not wicked?'—'Not very,' was the quick reply. And so, bright and cheerful expressions enlivened their serious discourse, like the harm-

Rev. Eleazar Mather, the first minister of Northampton, married the daughter of Rev. John Warham, of Windsor; and upon Mr. Mather's early death, Rev. Solomon Stoddard, the second minister of Northampton, married his widow. Rev. Timothy Edwards, the first minister of East Windsor, married a daughter of this Rev. Solomon Stoddard; and Jonathan Edwards, the son of Timothy, and the third minister of Northampton, married the daughter of Rev. James Pierrepont, of New Haven. Rev. Stephen Williams, D.D., the first minister of Longmeadow, married a daughter of Rev. John Davenport, of Stamford, with whom he lived nearly half a century. Late in life he was again married, to the widow of a deacon, and not a minister's daughter. Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, the second minister of Longmeadow, married the daughter of Rev. Noah Williston, of West Haven, Connecticut, and after her death he married Sarah Williams, of Longmeadow, granddaughter of the first Longmeadow minister.

less lightning on the summer evening cloud. A circle, long united, conscious that the hour of separation was near, were waiting in silence, like the sons of the prophets, the coming of the angels."

On the 6th of July, 1873, six weeks before his death, came the 62d anniversary Sabbath of Dr. Storrs' settlement. The people of Braintree had prepared a little surprise for their aged and beloved pastor. Around the pulpit, and behind it, were emblematic devices in flowers, and a beautiful wreath of flowers on the wall, enclosing the period of his ministry (sixty-two years). Dr. Storrs went into the church and took his seat in his pew. But when his eye caught sight of the decorations in front of him, and their full meaning was unfolded, he leaned his head forward upon the pew before him, and could not restrain his pent-up emotions. After the service, when he had reached home, some surprise was expressed that he should have been so moved and affected. Said he, still powerfully agitated, "*Sixty-two years*. When I saw those figures the generations of the dead rose up before me. What kindness and care have been shown to me, and how little have I done! 'God be merciful to me, a sinner!' I think more and more of that prayer every day I live."

He had many favorite hymns, which he used in his last months to read or repeat; and his hymn-book is still full of the marks, left undisturbed, which he had put there for ease in finding them. One of these was that hymn of Doddridge, "Jesus, I love thy charming name." He was troubled in his late years by a kind of stricture in the throat,—a difficulty of articulate utterance that was often very trying to him. The last verse of this hymn had for him, therefore, a peculiar force and meaning:—

"I'll speak the honors of Thy name
With my last laboring breath,
Then, speechless, clasp Thee in my arms,
The Conqueror of death."

In the last day or two of life, though he knew his end was approaching, he could not possibly converse much. On Sunday evening, August 10, he thought he was seeing his physician for the last time, and he tried to express his gratitude for the care bestowed. He uttered words beyond his strength. His

attendant suggested quiet, and she repeated to him one of the hymns he greatly loved :—

“Just as I am, without one plea.”

He lay still, and with an uplifted expression turned the words into a prayer for himself as fast as they were uttered.

Dr. Storrs died on Monday, the 11th of August, 1873, aged eighty-six years and six months.

In those last days of feebleness, as he sat bending under the weight of years, in complete retirement from that great busy world in which he had long borne such a stirring and important part, amid the delays of death and weary lingerings of the earthly life, and with his strong aspirations after the heavenly and invisible, his condition has been perhaps fitly described by the following lines, penned years ago with reference to another, who sat in a like waiting attitude :—

I know an aged pilgrim, worn and weary,
Whose feet still linger on the sands of time ;
But earth, for him, is all too cold and dreary,
He longs to reach a sunnier, happier clime.
His eye is dim ; his ear is dull of hearing ;
Old sights and sounds disturb his soul no more ;
He sees the goodly hills their crests uprearing, —
The sunlit hills upon the farther shore.
In his long journey o'er the desert ranges,
His soul has known sharp conflicts by the way, —
The fierce temptations and the bitter changes,
The chills of night, the burning heats of day.
But now he sits in patience by the river,
Gentle and quiet as a weanèd child,
Waiting for God the summons to deliver,
To call him up to mansions undefiled.
Ask him of human life, its plots and scheming,
Its small ambitions and its empty joys,
He answers like a sleeper waked from dreaming, —
He lives afar from all this strife and noise.
But ask of heaven, and of the joys that cluster
Around that land where his Redeemer lives,
His fading eye lights up with saintly lustre,
And his quick tongue the ready answer gives.

THE HISTORICAL RELATION OF NEW ENGLAND TO
THE ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH.

[Continued from page 258.]

It was as early as 1604—the advent of the quarrel between the hierarchy and the people—that James I denounced the Puritans, saying, “The revolt in the Low Countries, which had lasted ever since he was born, and whereof he never expected to see an end, began first by a petition for matters of religion. That he and his mother, from their cradles, had been haunted with a Puritan devil, which he feared would not leave him to his grave.¹ That he would hazard his crown, but he would suppress their malicious spirits.” The unequal contest dethroned the Stuarts, and did cost two of his family the crown and one of them his head.

For years the fate of New England was as that of a shuttlecock. An intermarriage with the family that had blasted Spain with the Inquisition and drenched the Netherlands with Christian blood, was the ambition of James Stuart, to secure which he made eager proffer of personal and national servitude. The bigot, Philip, hoped to gain by the weakness and treachery of Stuart and his court what the Armada had failed to win by force,—the extension over Great Britain of the Roman Catholic sway which had palsied his own subjects. This was his sole thought, and for this he would barter his own daughter; but the Puritan forbade the banns. In his despatch from the English Court, March $\frac{15}{2}$, 1620, to his Spanish master, the assiduous Gondomar² wrote, “The King remembered very well that I had told him three or four years ago that his secretary

¹ It began with the “Request” of the Low Countries that the Spanish Inquisition might not be established on their territory, and ended forty-three years afterward in the vindication of man’s prerogative of thought, his rescue from moral death, and the Independence of the Dutch States.—*Motley’s Netherlands.* This revolting levity at the fiendish bigotry of Rome and Spain in the Netherlands, the story of whose deeds makes man to blush for his race, thus early disclosed the moral penury of James I. He had not even the apology of bigotry, sincerity, for he sat on a Protestant throne. Cowardice and cruelty distinguished this king, who was true neither to his country nor his God. The Puritan resisted his misrule and treachery, and that of his successors, who were worthy of their lineage.

² *The Spanish Match.* Camden Society, 1869, 135, 148, 160, 170, 175, 177, 186, 212, 277, 280, 307, 316, 322, 327.

Winwood was a Puritan, an enemy of Spain, and a Dutchman, and that he had tried to verify what I had said, and found that I had spoken the truth in this, as I always did ; and that from that time he had taken his favor from Winwood, so that he died of sorrow. Yet he must tell me that after I was gone the malice of these people (the Puritans) so increased that he had now three hundred Winwoods in his court and palace," and so he "wiped the sweat from his forehead" !

And we have, too, the ambassador's report of a conversation of about the same date with Prince Charles and Lord Digby : "We talked about the Puritans and of the great number of them there were in his household, not at all to his satisfaction. He laughed very much when I told him that his father had lately said the same thing to me." "Lord Digby affirmed that "the King's intentions were very good in all matters relating to Spain, but that he found himself so solitary and so encircled by Puritans and by our enemies, that he had neither means nor power to do good," and that "at last he and the King were left alone in England" on the Spanish side.

During this dalliance of Stuart weakness and the court soldiers of fortune with Spanish ambassadors and Papal intrigue, Puritanism led off in opposition and became the party of constitutional freedom, the aggressive party for parliamentary government against prelatic and royal despotism under pretence of "divine right."

It was at this time that a party of John Robinson's exiles at Leyden sought, pleaded for, permission to colonize in America.

It is natural that we should speak fondly of England as our mother, yet our fathers thought she showed little love and less wisdom when with prelatic madness she drove her best children off the island because they did not relish the spiritual nostrums which the Anglican prelates — "frocked" by the King and not by pope "infallible" — would force on all alike. They could not withhold what we took with us, the best portion of our birthright, our Teutonic blood and our English Bible.

The escape from the Inquisitorial terrors of England to the Netherlands, where the grand basis of civil liberty — freedom of conscience — was more nearly realized than in any other country, taught the Pilgrims a lesson of contrasts. Abiding long

enough with our liberty-loving and hospitable cousins — the drama of whose glorious struggle for manhood in the brilliant pages of our own Motley should be as a hand-book in every family — to study their institutions, especially to observe their “schools everywhere provided at the public expense,”¹ the Pilgrims hoisted sail, and with the three essentials, good blood, the open Bible, and a public school,² began life in New England, Nov. 21, 1620.

Wise in council, holy in thought, heroic in temper, of industrious and blameless life, yet as asserters of the principle of popular constitutional government, the broad foundation of that common freedom in which we, their heirs, rejoice, — viz. the rights of conscience, thought, and speech, — these people were in legal and social outlawry. For them to be banished was to be set free. “No rabble, sir priest,” said Milton, “but . . . good Protestants . . . at first by those of your tribe they were called Lollards and Hussites, so now by you be termed Puritans and Brownists . . . But my hope is, that the people of England will not suffer themselves to be juggled thus out of their faith and religion by a mist of names cast before their eyes, but will search wisely by the Scriptures . . . knowing that the primitive Christians in their times were accounted such as are now called Familists and Adamites, or worse . . . Forsooth if they [the prelates] be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow; we shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such are now Brownists.”³

At home, hunted by ecclesiastical catch-poles, the Pilgrims had been accustomed to ask, “What will the government do with us?” but within a few weeks, even before they left the cabin of the May-Flower, a very different question, before un-

¹ “Schools everywhere provided at the public expense”; but, at the suggestion of Dr. Henry Barnard, looking at Mr. Brodhead’s authority (Davies’ *Holland*, ii, 202, 203), I find that it was a church institution, not a public free school. The error stands corrected.

² Early in 1624 Gov. Bradford wrote: “We have no commone schoole for want of a fitt person, or hithertoo means to maintaine one; though we desire now to begine.” *Hist. of Plymouth*, 162.

³ *The Reason of Church Government Urged Against Prelaty*. 1641. Prose Works. Bohn’s Ed., ii, 462, 464. “Both ways [Brownism and Independency] really are one and the same.” Baylies’ *Dissuasive*. 1645. p. 58.

heard of, "What shall we do with the government?" was solved in their constitutional convention of Nov. 21, 1620. Passive subjects in England, by a mere transfer to a transatlantic shore, they at once took practical lesson in self-government, adopted a constitution, made laws, and elected officers. Wife and mother — the family — were there. There were the integrals of a nation. They had been subjects, abject, if no worse; they were now citizens, freeholders.

This transfer of power was revolutionary, not wrung, as in Europe, after infinite delays, from the king, the aristocracy, and middle classes, but returning directly to the people, the working men, for there were none other at Plymouth. While in England, for claiming what are to us rights as free and unquestioned as the air we breathe, they were a reproach and a by-word among the "faithful," whose quiet was still to be troubled even unto dissolution with radical ideas from New England, as little to be controlled as the winds from heaven.

Breathing the more bracing air of absolute independence, thinking and acting in their own democratic way, with no room for crown or mitre, they were in a position for that free inquiry which is of the essence, the verity of Christianity, ever tending to the highest type of manhood.

What higher guarantee can there be for the detection of error and the conservation of truth than the ingenuous and eager readiness for more light displayed in these radiant sentences? "The Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth from his Holy Word," in John Robinson's farewell to the Pilgrims at Leyden in 1620; and in 1624, when "church" bigotry would still deprive the Pilgrims of their pastor, Mr. Robinson, "unless he and they will reconcile themselves to our church" of England, they answered, "We may erre, and other churches may erre, and doubtless doe in many circumstances. That honour, therefore belongs only to y^e infallible Word of God, and pure Testamente of Christ, to be propounded and followed as y^e only rule and pattern for direction herein to all churches and Christians. And it is too great arrogancie for any man or church to thinke y^t he or they have so sounded y^e Word of God to y^e bottome, as precislie to sett downe y^e churches discipline, with-

out error in substance or circumstance, as y^t no other without blame may digress or differ in anything from y^e same." ¹

Or consider this, from Mr. John Cotton's letter to Archbishop Usher, May 31, 1626: "You shall find me . . . glad to receive such light, as God shall be pleased to impart to me by you." ² Or yet again, his words to Mr. Roger Williams, in 1637: "Be ready in preparation of heart as you shall see more light, so to hate more and more every false way"; and, again, five years later, "The Word hath promised more and more light shall breake forth in these times, . . . we shall sinne against the Grace and Word of truth if we confine our truth either to the Divines of present or former ages." ³

John Davenport came to New England "resolved," he said, "to drive things . . . as near to the precept and pattern of Scripture as they could be driven." In his public letter of 1646, Mr. Hugh Peter said, "Keep a window open to more light and truth." "Yea, one Scripture in the mouth of a mechanic before any decree of the whole council," said Mr. Roger Williams in his "Queries" to Parliament, in 1643, ⁴ and he quotes a letter from Mr. Cotton, ⁵ "professing to expect a far greater light than yet shines."

I said that the intolerance which deprived the Pilgrims of their pastor, Mr. John Robinson, is at the historical foundation of Massachusetts. After their violation of contract with Mr. Robinson and his church had compelled the separation of pastor and people at Leyden, — the farewell so dear to the lovers of the brave, true, and beautiful, illustrated by history, poetry, and art, — some of the "most religious" of those "merchant adventurers" began to think they "should sin against God in keeping plighted faith and word with Mr. Robinson and his company," unless they would first "recon-

¹ Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, 198.

² *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* 1870, 356.

³ *Of Set Forms of Prayer*, 1642, p. 45.

⁴ When Charles II expressed his surprise to Dr. Owen at his practice of hearing a tinker (Bunyan) preach, the Dr. replied: "Had I the tinker's abilities, please your Majesty, I would most gladly relinquish my learning."

⁵ Cotton's letter was printed in 1643, Peter's in 1646, Robinson's in 1647. See page 110 of Mr. John Ward Dean's *Memoir of Nathaniel Ward*, a model of arrangement and thoroughness of research.

cile themselves to our church," of England, "by a written recantation." Some of these "bitter professed adversaries," "plotted" against the Pilgrims, "against their peace both in respects of their civill and church state." It is "by these men's means," says Governor Bradford, "our pastor [Robinson] is kept from us, and then (they) reproach us with it."¹

A reverend conspirator, employed by the "partners in trade," John Lyford,² wrote to them from Plymouth "that y^e Leyden company (Mr. Robinson & y^e rest) must still be kepte back, or els all wil be spoyled. And least any of them should be taken in privatly somewher on y^e coast of England (as it was feared might be done), they must chaing the mr. of y^e ship (Mr. William Peirce), and put another allso in Winslow's stead, for marchante, or els it would not be prevented," but if they failed "to cary & over-bear things, it will be best for them to plant els wher." After the detection and defeat of the plot, Mr. John Oldham, also prominent in the conspiracy at Plymouth, confessed his evil deeds and promised that "those in England" should not "use him as an instrumente any longer against them [the Pilgrims] in any thing."³

With steadfast purpose, patient endurance, and Christian magnanimity, the Pilgrims maintained their integrity and position over inveterate prejudice, and despite false friends, violated contract, and priestly conspiracy. Their "most religious" adversaries did "plant els wher," and that new colony under the more magnanimous Roger Conant, was the political beginning of Massachusetts.

At a later date, November 15, 1626, a compromise or agreement between the "adventurers" and Pilgrims discloses the names of several of the "most religious" gentlemen who had formed the New Dorchester Company. We have the names of two ecclesiastics — priest and prelate — who were busy in this movement, — Mr. White, of Dorchester, the "Father" of Massachusetts, and Mr. Lake, successor of Laud as Bishop of Bath and Wells.

¹ Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, pp. 43, 118, 197, 166, 175.

² The historical parallel of the "troubles at Frankfort" with Lyford's treachery at Plymouth is noteworthy.

³ Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, 172, 179, 180.

In conversation with his friend, Mr. Hugh Peter, years after, Mr. White referred to Bishop Lake's zeal in his sermon, July 2, 1625, in which he contrasts English apathy with Romish proselytism in America, and to his declaration to White that "he would go himself, but for his age." "Yea," said Mr. Peter, White and Lake "occasioned, yea, founded that work and much in reference to the Indians." Lake was a moderate man, like Mr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who, more like a Christian than a Churchman, was wisely blind for many years to the non-conformity of Mr. Cotton, Rector of St. Botolph's, Boston, and was also honored by the fierce hatred of Laud the bigot. Bishop Lake died May 4, 1626, before Governor Conant removed the colonial seat from Cape Ann to Salem.¹

The "occasion" for this new colony, then, was the Pilgrims' inflexible fidelity to conviction. If they had faltered, if Robinson had wavered, and the Hierarchy had captured Plymouth, how different had been the current of history!

Thus we trace the course and results of the prelatie "dislike" to Plymouth "Independency," and their movements, just in their embryonic state, prefatory to organization and formal record, as the rival colony of Massachusetts and still within the "establishment." But the labor was in vain; the "plot" failed; for we have it from the lips of Mr. Winslow, of Plymouth, that they "came at [the] first to them at Plimmouth, to crave their direction in church courses and made them their pattern."²

The new colony, at once leavened by Plymouth ideas and influence, adopted the principles and practice of what is known as Massachusetts "Congregationalism"; and Massachusetts was soon reputed in England to be "a nursery of schismatics . . . faction and rebellion" against "religion," that is, against Laud and the Church of England. Mr. White of Dorchester was himself obliged to record the fact.³ Fourteen years later, 1644,

¹ Mr. Haven on the Massachusetts Company. *Arch. Americana*, iii. Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, 172, 179, 180, *sub anno*. Thornton's *Landing at Cape Ann*, 39, and *Pulpit of the American Revolution*. 1860. xvi, xx. Anderson's *Col. Church*, xiv.

² Rathband's *Narrative*, 1644.

³ White's *Planters' Plea*, in Force's Tracts, vols. ii, iii. Rathband's *Narrative*, 1644, i, 33. *Mass. H. C.*, 13: 66-75.

the Presbyterian, Mr. Rathband, noted that the Plymouth polity was "much commended by Mr. John Cotton" and adopted by the successive colonies, and — deprecating the liking of "many" in England, "especially" in London, for the "popular synods" — he asks, "How will our late solemn league with God and one another stand with the opinion of many of them that hold the magistrate hath nothing to do in matter of religion . . . and cannot lawfully compel men to enter into covenant with God?"¹

In a letter to Governor Bradford,² June 4, 1634, Governor Dudley mentions rumors from England "of some trials which are shortly like to fall upon us," on which Bradford remarks, "ther was cause enough of these feares, which arise by y^e underworking of some enemies to y^e churches here." Archbishop Laud had procured a royal commission, April 28, 1634, which gave the colonies and colonists, body and soul, life and limb, in absolute ownership and slavery to the mere discretion and lawless, irresponsible will of the primate and his associates. It would have satisfied a Caraffa or an Alva; but it was futile, impossible.

¹ The mooted point whether or not they had fixed on a form of church government before leaving England is settled by the following: "Mr. Hildersham did much grieve when he understood that the brethren in *New England* did depart from the Presbyterian government; and he said this mischief had been prevented, if my counsel at Mr. Higginson's going over [1628] had been taken; which was, that brethren driven thither by Episcopalian persecution should agree upon the Church Government before they depart from hence. And it is well known that many Presbyterian non-conformists, did, by a letter sent unto New England, bewaile their departing in practice from Presbyterians . . . who, the world knoweth, are Antagonists to Independency. . . . Is it not probable, that if Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker had stayd in their native country, they would not have been at such a distance from church fellowship with their Presbyterian brethren, as Old England Independents are . . . who boast of these worthies [of New England] as their predecessors in Wayes of Independency . . . superlatively famous . . . therefore their judgment is most frequently insisted upon." *Irenicum*, London, 1659, x, xi.

² "There was cause enough." Bradford, pp. 320, 456. The Commission is at length in Hubbard's *Hist. of N. E.*, chap. xxxvi.

Heylin, in his *Life of Laud*, says, "It was once under consultation of the physicians [Laud & Co.] . . . to send a bishop over to them for their better government, and to back him with some forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to persuade obedience; but this design was strangled in the first conception, by the violent breaking out of the troubles in Scotland." . . . He adds, "The principal

Thus the spirit of intolerance ever defeated itself. It exiled the Puritans to Holland, where they prayed, and studied the Scriptures undisturbed; it followed them to Plymouth, and was foiled there; it planned and planted Massachusetts as a hostile colony, and was foiled there; it got a commission of more terrible power than ever Islam could endure, and again it was foiled; then the Pilgrim, turning upon the aggressor, led both

bell-wethers of these flocks were Cotton, Chauncey, Wells [Thomas Weld], Hooker, and perhaps Hugh Peters."

We have another account of the matter by Sir Simon D'Ewes, who says, the "Episcopal enemies of New England had at several times given out reports that a bishop and a governor should be sent amongst them to force upon them the yoke of our ceremonies and intermixtures, so to deter others from going. And, indeed, at this time (1634), the same report was more likely to be fulfilled than ever before or since; for one, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was nominated for governor, and there was a consultation had to send him thither with a thousand soldiers: a ship was now in building, and near finished to transport him by sea, and much fear there was amongst the Godly lest that infant Commonwealth and Church should have been ruined by him; when God, that had carried so many weak and crazy ships thither, so provided it, that this strong, new-built ship in the very launching fell in pieces, and so preserved his dear children there at this present time, from that fatal design."

Ceaseless, ever imminent danger from Episcopal machinations and hatred, and the instinct and duty of self-preservation, fully justified the colonial limitation of the franchise, and we wonder at their moderation in this hour of extreme peril. Mr. Cotton says, the "magistrates, and other members of the Generall Court upon Intelligence of some Episcopall, and malignant practises against the Countrey, they made an order of Court to take tryall of the fidelitie of the People (not by imposing upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelitie: that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with place of publick charge and command."

What Laud was, what he intended, is disclosed in the following story: "One Price, Superior to the Benedictine monkes, was very familiar, private, and secret with the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud." At Rome Laud was "highly praised" by the Jesuites for his "daily demonstrations of his great affection to this our Court and Church; which he shewed not long since in sending a Common Prayer Booke (which he had composed for the church of *Scotland*), to be first viewed and approved of by our Pope and Cardinals, who perusing it liked it very well for Protestants to be trained in a Form of Prayer and service; yet considering the State of *Scotland*, and the temper and tenents of that people, the Cardinals (first giving him thanks for his respect and dutiful compliance with them) sent him word that they thought that form of prayer was not fitting for *Scotland*, but would breed some stir and unquietness there." Gage's "*New Survey*," 1648. ch. xxii, fol. 207-209. Jenny Gedde's footstool put an end to that. Rome was more wary than Laud. Was not this Price the "one" who offered the red hat to Laud?

Cotton's *Answer to Mr. Williams*. 1647. pp. 4. 28, 29.

D'Ewes' *Autobiography*, II, ch. v. p. 118.

bishop and king to their own scaffold, and created the English Commonwealth.¹

The civil war in England grew mainly out of questions of property as between crown and subject. Hampden, imprisoned in 1626 for resistance to the forced loan which Laud taught the "faithful" was rebellion against God, again in 1636 would not pay twenty shillings to the tyrant, Charles Stuart, and by public discussion would rouse the people from apathy to consider their rights and liberties: but when New England introduced, however imperfectly and crudely, a new element, the broader, deeper question, the Rights of Conscience, she ennobled the contest, inasmuch as the Rights of Conscience are higher than the Rights of Property, as man is greater than his possessions, and popularized it, inasmuch as religion was of the many, while property was only of the few. "If a man shall gain the whole world, and lose" . . . himself! Contrast the great-hearted freeman, JOHN CARVER, the first governor of the new Commonwealth, just landed on Plymouth Rock, erect in manhood, with face lifted reverently to heaven, and Buckingham, the consummate courtier of England with his tags and laces: which of the two was the MAN?²

" the citizen

You lost for conscience' sake, he was your noblest."

"given back to self-dependence,

Man awakens to the feeling of his worth,

And freedom's proud and lofty virtues blossom."³

It was by the warmth and conviction of this new thought,

¹ Robert Baylie traces "their pedigree in this clear line: Master Robinson did derive his way to his separate congregation at *Leyden*; a part of them did carry it over to *Plymouth*, in *New-England*; here Master *Cotton* did take it up and transmit it from thence to Master *Goodwin*, who did help to propagate it to sundry others in Old-England first, and after to more in Holland, till now by many hands it is sown thick in divers parts of this kingdom." *Dissuasive*. 1645. p. 54.

² Blackstone says, that "the commons were in a state of great ignorance . . . the particular liberty, the natural equality, and personal independence of individuals were little regarded or thought of . . . Our ancestors heard with detestation and horror those sentiments rudely delivered . . . by the violence of a Cade and a Tyler . . . since . . . softened and recommended by the eloquence, the moderation, and the arguments of a Sidney, a Locke, and a Milton." *Commentaries*, iv, ch. xxxiii, 433.

³ Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Act iii, sc. x.

this belief in man as man, in the Rights of Conscience, that the glorious Commonwealth was achieved.

In the records of the Pilgrims no sentiment is brought into more beautiful relief than their steadfast trust in the providential government of God.¹ Humboldt states that the flight of a flock of parrots determined the first colonization of the new world, and the original distribution of the European races on this continent. It guided the Spaniards to the South as the nearest land, thus leaving the North to Germanic and Protestant civilization. Was it accident?

As early as 1578, Halluyt suggested that America might be a refuge for the persecuted under religious or political revolutions.²

In his letter to Mr. Mede, "Newbury, March 2d, 1634," Dr. Twisse says: "Of our English Plantations in the new world—Heretofore I have wondered in my thoughts at the Providence of God concerning that world, not discovered till this old world of ours is almost at an end, and then no footsteps found of the knowledge of the true God, much less of Christ, and then considering our English Plantations of late, and the opinion of many grave Divines concerning the Gospels fleeting westward; sometimes I have had such thoughts, why may not that be the place of New Jerusalem? . . . We have heard lately divers ways that our people there have no hope of the conversion of the natives. And the very week after I received your last Letter, I saw a Letter written from New England discoursing of an impossibility of subsisting there, and seems to prefer the confession of God's truth in any condition here in old England, rather than run over to enjoy their liberty there; yea, and that the Gospel is like to be more deare in New England than in Old": and April 6, 1635, he refers to Lord Say's "counsels for advancing the plantations of the West," and thinks "it may serve as a chamber to hide many of God's children, till the indignation passe over which hastens upon us more and more."³

Was it accident, that with the opening of the struggle be-

¹ Bradford's *Plymouth*. pp. 26, 38, 41, 67, 78, 80, 99, et ubique.

² *Voyages*. Lond. 1818. iii, 72.

³ Mede's *Diatriba Epistles*. London, 1652. 547-556.

tween the Crown and the people, between force and conscience, in the time of James,¹ the happy voyage of Gosnold in 1602 should revive the spirit of discovery and colonization, and open the refuge for the persecuted? Was it accidental that the New England coast should be reserved for the Pilgrims by the discouragement of colonization growing out of the Popham failure of 1607?

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them as we will."

Was it accident — the falling among "perilous shoals and breakers" — or the caprice of the winds that guided the "May-Flower," and landed the Pilgrims, not in the genial climate south of Cape Cod, but in a higher latitude, on rough coasts, where harsh winters and doubtful harvests favored habits of a provident industry and thrift, the love of an in-door life, of home, and moral and intellectual progress?

Was it accident that despotism compelled Cromwell and his companions to debark from the New England ship and thus forcibly retained the instruments of its own doom?² Was it accident that divided the force that was to rescue England from civil and religious thralldom — Cotton and his co-workers in New England — each with its special function and service, but a unit in the common cause of humanity?

Like these was another incident, trivial, except in a comprehensive view of the whole movement: about eighteen miles inland from Boston, the old seaport of Lincolnshire, lies the hamlet of Sempringham, then the seat of the Earl of Lincoln,

¹ Bradford, 70-80. "May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce and looked on their adversitie, etc. . . . When they wandered in ye deserte wilderness out of ye way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie and thirstie, their sowle was overwhelmed in them."

² Lord Say; Lord Brooke; Sir Arthur Haselrigge; "Hampden, ashamed of a country for whose rights he had fought alone; Cromwell, panting with energies that he could neither control nor explain, and whose unconquerable fire was still wrapped in smoke to every eye but that of his kinsman, Hampden, were preparing to embark for America, when Laud, for his own and his master's curse, procured an order of council to stop their departure." Hallam's *England*, Ed. 1866, ii, 58. A critical paper on this point in the *N. E. Hist. Genl. Register*, 1866, 113-121. By John Ward Dean.

the fast friend of our John Cotton, vicar of St. Botolph's. It was a day's ride to Sempringham and back to Boston, and three travellers on horseback shortened the time by warm but friendly disputations. Roger Williams, never timid of thought or speech, "presented his argument from Scripture why he durst not joyn with them in their use of Common Prayer." All the answer he received from Master Cotton was that he "selected the good and best prayers in his use of that book," as Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, "was used to do in his using of the masse-book," rejecting what was superstitious;¹ and Master Thomas Hooker satisfied his heart with no better reason. The appeal was to Scripture and to its sole interpreter, reason. This was the base and logic of independency.

Let us briefly review the lives of those men, and then we may ask, Was there, in all England, anything more pregnant than that day's colloquy on the Sempringham Road? It may be said that Waldo, Wicliffe, Coverdale, Tyndal had scattered the truth all along the centuries. True; but that is vague and general, while here is a definite point of departure, a personality; and the sequence of thought and influence may be traced from that day's converse from mind to mind, gathering force and momentum till it abolished the hierarchy of Anglo-Catholicism, dethroned a tyrant, and established the Commonwealth.

In his paper on the philosophical genius of Bacon and Locke, Sir James Mackintosh says, that "by the Independent divines who were his instructors, our philosopher [John Locke] was taught those principles of religious liberty which they were the first to give to the world"; and, as Lord King counts it "an important fact in the history of toleration that Dr. Owen [the convert and disciple of our John Cotton] was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, when Locke was admitted a member of that college," "under a fanatical tutor," as Antony Wood calls Owen, so I propose to show, step by step, by exact historical evidence, that the English Commonwealth was the daughter of New England, the reflex of the New on the Old; for ideas control the world and create institutions, while men are merely players

¹ The Bloudy Tenent in Pub. of Narragansett Club, iii, 69.

The political ideas of the Pilgrims have penetrated the thought and life of both lands.

Whether we accept Mr. Buckle's theory, that all movements are determined solely by their antecedents, by the force of circumstances, and that if great men had never existed the flow of events would have occurred as it has (and that is but another form of Lord Macaulay's statement, so profusely illustrated in his essay on Dryden, that "it is the age that forms man and not man the age"); or adopt Mr. Carlyle's doctrine, that "the history of what man has accomplished is at bottom the history of great men who have worked here"; or else conclude that the Ruler of events also appoints His agents, and that all are subordinate to providential designs, — still it gives the charm of life, the zest peculiar to biography, to link ideas and events to personal fortunes. For the lives of great men warm and move mankind far more than the wandering mazes of philosophical speculation; the drama of life is more attractive than its philosophy. To name Galileo, Bacon, Columbus and Humphrey Gilbert, John Cotton and Henry Vane, Roger Williams and John Milton, Fulton and Morse, Cromwell, Washington, and Lincoln, is to epitomize history. Without names, without biography, history would be lifeless. "Nations rise and fall by individuals, not numbers, as I think all history proveth," Thomas Hollis wrote to Dr. Jonathan Mayhew in 1766.

The eldest of the three travellers on the Sempringham Road, of middle age, the eloquent preacher and learned theologian, Mr. John Cotton, was already noted for scholarship, judgment, and oratory, ranking among the ablest; his correspondence was sought by such thinkers, men of letters, and statesmen, as Archbishop Usher, Lord Say, and others.

The next, Mr. Thomas Hooker, was Mr. Cotton's junior by a year; educated at Emmanuel College, a man of increasing influence, and while preaching in the neighborhood of London, the trusted friend of the Pilgrims in their troubles with the treacherous Lyford in 1626.

Far the youngest of the three was Mr. Roger Williams, a *protégé* of Sir Edward Coke, whose interest had been early won by the youth's skill in reporting the sayings and doings in the Star

Chamber, and to whose liberality Williams owed his education. He took the degree of A. B. at Pembroke College in 1626, and studying awhile with Sir Edward, was grounded in the leading principles of law. Turning to the study of divinity with the ardor which characterized his life, and improving the opportunity on the Sempinghams Road to listen to men of such distinction for learning and wisdom as Cotton and Hooker, young Williams pressed home his "argument from Scripture why he durst not joyn with them in their use of Common Prayer." Whatever their previous doubtings and scruples had been, the earnest, clear-headed student, fresh in the inquiry, had now brought out the point distinctly, perhaps with legal skill in statement. They would not evade, they could not answer; and now what came of it?

Almost from the time of his going to Boston, July 4, 1612, Mr. Cotton "forbore all the ceremonies alike at once," but by the love and reverence of his people, his eminence, at home and on the continent, as a theologian and preacher, by the influence of great names, he continued "with not a little disturbance from the Commissary Courts" till 1632, when, to avoid prelatric fury and Star-Chamber hangmen, he planned an escape to Holland in disguise. But several of the ablest divines of London, hoping to win Mr. Cotton to conformity and save so great a man to the Church, provided safe retirement for him in and about London.¹ The result of this intellectual tournament and searching debate, during their long conferences, was that Mr. Cotton brought them over to his opinions, and thenceforth they shared with him the obloquy and woes which an angry and powerful hierarchy could inflict, and last, but not least of all, exile. Among them, Thomas Goodwin, John Davenport, and Philip Nye were to be his able co-workers in disseminating right opinions in polity, and in fixing the channel of English history.² Fellow-

¹ Doubtless this was in mind when Mr. Cotton, in his answer to Mr. Williams, says, "It is well knowne that any stranger in London, by removing now and then his lodging, may escape not only persecution but observation, for a longer time than any of our hearers are ordinarily wont to sojourn there." Mr. Cotton's *Reply to Mr. Williams*. 1647. 141.

² Before Mr. Cotton's departure from England, by conferences from London, he had brought off Master Davenport and Master Goodwin from some of the English ceremonies; . . . so soon as he did taste of the New-English air, he fell into so

passengers to New England, one in thought and inspiration, Cotton and Hooker will soon reach that higher landing-place to which Roger Williams had challenged them on the Sempringham road. From his native land to the forests of New England, from the groined arches of St. Botolph's to the "mud-wall meeting-house with wooden chalices" of Shawmut, was to John Cotton an escape from the gloomy and stifling crypt to empyrean light, from spiritual thralldom to liberty itself.

Mr. Cotton and Mr. Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrim Church, had studied at the feet of the same Gamaliel, Robert Parker. From him and Dr. Ames, Robinson early sought counsel and satisfaction in Holland, and Cotton first learned Independency or Congregationalism from his writings, especially his "*De Ecclesiastica Politea*."—"Yea, he proveth it at large," says Cotton. Mather styles Parker "in some sort the father of all non-conformists in that age." He died in 1614, about two years after Cotton became Vicar of St. Botolph's, Boston. Thus it came that in his farewell sermon to his departing friends, Dudley, Winthrop, Bradstreet, and others at Southampton, Mr. Cotton charged them "that they should take advise of them at Plymouth, and should doe nothing to offend them," tidings of which comforted the Pilgrims at Plymouth, who had already found Governor Endecott "a dear friend to us all."¹ Whatever they were while in England, they left no room for doubt after they reached America.

passionate an affection with the Religion he found there, . . . had gotten the assistance of Master *Hooker*, Master *Davenport*, and sundry other very worthy ministers, beside many thousands of people . . . being there alone, without any enemy." Mr. Cotton's "convert, Master *Goodwin*, a most fine and dainty Spirit, with very little ado, was brought by his Letters from *New England*, to follow him unto this step also of his progresse, and that with so high an estimation of his new Light, that he was bold to boast of it in termes a little beyond the lines of moderation. It had been happy for *England*, that Master *Cotton* had taken longer time for deliberation." Baylie's *Dissuasive*. 1645. pp. 56, 59, 60. Thomas Edwards says, in his *Antapology*, pp. 17-32, that he had "seen and perused the arguments that passed betwixt him [Goodwin] and Master Cotton and some others"; and "that Master Goodwin was so ingaged in his thoughts of one of the ministers of New England, to wit, Master *Cotton*, by whom I am sure he was first taken off, that he hath said there was not such another man in the world again." Where are these manuscript "arguments"?

¹ Cotton's *Way Cleared*. 1648. pp. 13, 24; pt. 2d, 12. Trumbull's *Lechford's Plain Dealing*, 1850. Bradford's *Plymouth*, 279. Scottow's *Narrative*. Brook's

The Christian philosopher, Coleridge, finds that "the average result of the press, from Henry VIII to Charles I, was such a diffusion of religious light, as first redeemed, and afterwards secured this nation (Great Britain) from the spiritual and moral death of popery."¹

Puritans, ii, 239. The stigma of semi-separatism rested on the enterprise and its leaders, and the Rev. John White of Dorchester, the father of the enterprise and the correspondent and co-laborer of Roger Conant, the first governor of the Colony, published the *Planter's Plea*, 1630, especially to disprove this charge of "desperate malice," and that the world might be "well-assured" to the contrary, they had made Winthrop governor, because he "was sufficiently knowne . . . where he had long lived . . . as every way regular and conformable in the whole course of his practice" to the established church and religion. Not therefore for exercise or trouble of conscience, but, it appears, for stern prudential reasons, this was to Mr. Winthrop a most welcome opportunity and relief. A lawyer; distressed by the lessening income from the waste of the savings of his grandfather—a thrifty clothier from London—scarcely eked out by a slender and precarious practice; for years past restless and waiting for something to turn up; pressed by the laudable motive daily suggested by *res angusta domi*; married at seventeen; in 1623 wishing "oft God would open a way to settle him in Ireland"; in 1627 resolved to remove to London; in January, 1628, owing more already than he was able to pay without sale of his land, and with children unprovided for; in June, 1629, yet more disheartened by the loss of place as attorney of the Court of Wards, obtained for him a few years before by the influence of his brother Emmanuel Downing of the Inner Temple,—he saw that a crisis was at hand in his own affairs, and was therefore ready for a last cast "in what place or condition soever, in weal or in woe." Then his good genius and ever efficient brother Downing again came to the rescue, turned his thoughts suddenly, and for the first time, to New England, July 28, 1629; he accepted the situation at once, wrote to his son John of his resolve to emigrate, and so with pressing care and sorrow of heart he prepared for the change. To his wife he wrote: "For my care of thee and thine, I will say nothing. The Lord knows my heart, that it was [the] one great motive to draw me into this course. The Lord prosper me in it, as I desire the prosperity of thee and thine." When they reached New England they found the leaders of the forlorn hope, the Colonial Governors, Bradford, Conant, and Endecott (Carver slept in an honored grave), the pioneers who had made the first movements, secured the several charters, instituted civil government, organized churches, imported cattle, cultivated the earth, planted orchards, and perhaps even then in his own thoughts Endecott had reserved "land for a college." Abraham Shurt, "the father of American conveyancing," had been, for years, at the head of the ancient trading post at Pemaquid. Of course, distresses prevailed, but civilization already possessed the land; here was already a *New England*, and to its shores Governor Endecott welcomed the new-comers at Salem, June 12, 1630, where, but two years before, Winthrop was loath his son should think of "settling," even as a last alternative. See Winthrop's charming *Domestic Correspondence*, in appendix to *Savage's Winthrop*; and in his *Life and Letters* by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, one of his descendants.

¹ *The Friend*, Essay, ii.

In the second part of this glorious work, especially in that relating to *polity*, New England had a controlling share. In about twenty years after the Landing of the Pilgrims, "the Congregational cause," says Dr. Orme, the able biographer of Dr. John Owen, "had obtained a firm footing in New England, and churches were there growing up and flourishing under its auspices. American pamphlets were imported, which disseminated the sentiments of the churches in that quarter. Thus the heresy which had been expelled from England returned with the increased strength of a transatlantic cultivation, and the publications of Cotton, Hooker, Norton, and Mather were circulated throughout England, and, during this writing and disputing period, produced a mighty effect."

Hume, too, says that the spirit of independency "shone forth in America in its full lustre, and received new accession of strength from the aspiring character of those who, being discontented with the established church and monarchy, had sought for freedom amongst those savage deserts." In the latest thorough study of that decisive period of English history, Dr. Masson also finds its root in the transatlantic world. Dr. Masson says that "the effective mass of English-born independency . . . the New England way . . . lay chiefly, and in most assured completeness, both of bulk and of detail, in the incipient transatlantic Commonwealth of New England . . . self-governed and self-organized as it was. . . . Before the end of 1642 the New England church 'independency' had spoken out her sentiments, in what might be called an authoritative manner, through the most eminent of all her ministers, Mr. John Cotton, of Boston . . . from that moment the exponent of moderate independency whom the Presbyterians felt themselves most bound to answer."¹

¹ Lord Chatham, in his letter to the king, said, "They left their native land in search of freedom and found it in a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree: they equally detest the pageantry of a king and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop." The Colonists said, "If Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, titles, and ceremonies, and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism shops." Then came national independence. Antagonism to hierarchal pretence is the key to American history from 1620 to 1783. Appendix to Hume's *Reign of James I.* Thornton's *Pulpit of the American Revolution*, 1860. Masson's *Life of John Milton and History of his Times*. 1871. 543-608.

Only an examination of the mass of New England learning on the fundamental principles of government,¹ drawn out by the incessant and impatient demands of English inquiry, can show how emphatically New England became the political seminary for republicanism in Old England. In form the contest touched the church only, in fact, the state. Freedom in one begat freedom in the other: "No bishop, no king."²

Early in 1644, "in the midst of all the high words on both sides," Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, two of Mr. Cotton's converts to non-conformity and his assiduous correspondents, published, with their commendation "to the reader," his work called *The Keyes*, tending to reconcile some present differences "about government . . . a platform . . . not now new unto our thoughts; yea, it is no other than what our owne apprehensions have been moulded into long since."³

In 1648 Mr. Thomas Goodwin, chief of the independent or "dissenting brethren," in the Westminster Assembly of divines, welcomed with lively satisfaction several able treatises on church polity "now issuing forth, as it were, at once . . . to indicate the truth . . . in these latter days wherein the light and sunshine grow hotter and more intense."⁴

This article was written in 1870, but Dr. Masson's statement carries such weight that I have placed it in the text, rather than in a note, though of later date.

¹ Nor did they write only on polity. Mr. Baylie's *Dissuasive* elicited from Mr. Cotton this defence of the Congregationalists, or Independents. After stating the facts, Mr. Cotton adds, "Consider whether, among all the servants of Christ now living in any Reformed Churches (put them altogether) they have published so many treatises of the work of conversion as the ministers of this way have done in New England and London." *Way Cleared*. p. 75.

² At Hampton Court Conference, 1604, King James said, "I know what would become of my supremacy; for no Bishop, no King . . . I will make them (the Puritans) conform, or harrie them out of the land — or else do worse!"

³ In his *Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet on the Unreasonableness of Separation*, Dr. Owen quotes Mr. Cotton as finding in the writings of Cyprian, "the express and lively lineaments of the very body of Congregational discipline." See also Owen's *Works*. 1852. xiii, 222.

⁴ Dr. Goodwin left fourteen or fifteen volumes of notes of transactions in the Westminster Assembly. "In 1647, he had invitations from Mr. John Cotton and other worthy ministers, to remove to New England which he was so much inclined to do, as to put a great part of his library on shipboard," but was persuaded to remain in England. Jan. 8, 1649-50, by order of parliament, he was president of Magdalen College, Oxford, with special privileges, and, being in high favor with Cromwell, was one of a Committee of Divines, 1653, to draw up a catalogue of Fundamentals, to be presented to parliament, and a principal man at

The treatises which so encouraged Dr. Goodwin were all¹ written by New England divines, Cotton, Norton, Shepherd, Allen, Mather, and second to none, Hooker; to whose "Survey . . . of the way of the churches of New England," Mr. Goodwin's preface was dated April 17, 1648. In this Mr. Goodwin wishes, rather than hopes, that argument with the Presbyterians may be "a sufficient caveat to the sword's plea or intermeddling, *pendente lite*," he despondingly adds "as yet depending upon another way of trial." His fears were the better prophet; for Charles, the tyrant, whose whole life was a lie, lost his head the next January 30th, and the surgery of the sword, civil war, was the only way by which conscience could throw off the cramp of bigotry.

Of one of these treatises mentioned by Mr. Goodwin, Thomas Fuller, the church historian of England, says, "Of all the authors I have perused concerning the opinions of the Dissenting Brethren (the Independents), none to me was more informative than Mr. John Norton (one of no less learning than modesty), minister in New England, in his answer to Apollonius."² This was printed in 1648, with a preface by Cotton, and an address by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, and John Simpson, it being the first Latin volume from New England.³ Let it be remembered, the while, that, by the reiterated declaration of her contemporary enemies, these New England doc-

the Savoy, 1658, framing a confession of faith for the Independent churches. Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, 1808, i, 217, and *Life of Goodwin*, prefixed to Vol. V of his Works.

¹ "The point of Schools and Learning . . . divers of them have as good a share in learning as their neighbors. . . . The most of their erudition this day dwells in *New England* . . . the Magistrates and the whole Land are at their Devotion." Baylie's *Dissuasive*. 640, 129.

² In Dr. Allibone's invaluable *Dictionary of Authors*.

³ These treatises were often "published" and circulated in manuscript before being printed. For instance: Mr. Cotton's "Discourse," or "Treatise," sent to Archbishop Usher in 1626 at his desire to know what Mr. Cotton "conceived of the way of God's eternal Predestination, and the Execution of it," seems to have been multiplied in manuscript copies, and was "in hands of many," for more than twenty years, and was finally printed, "together with an examination thereof, written by William Twisse, D. D., Pastor of Newbury." London, 1646, pp. vii, 288. See Cotton's letter in Parr's *Life of Usher*, reprinted in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, 1870. Oct. Twisse's *Epistle unto the Reader*, and marginal note on p. 261. Others of Cotton's books were "published" in manuscript years before they were printed. Dr. Twisse was President of the Westminster Assembly.

trines, expounded by New England pens, and illustrated by New England practice, became the political platform in the army and in parliament, and so shaped the history of England.

In 1645 Mr. Robert Baylie,¹ the Glasgow minister and one of the ablest in the Presbyterian ranks in the field of controversy, charged Mr. Cotton with being, "if not the author, yet the greatest promoter and patron of Independency . . . a man of very excellent parts . . . of great wit and learning . . . the great instrument of drawing to it not only the thousand of those who left England, but many in Old England, by his letters to his friends," Thomas Goodwin, its apostle there, and to others. Mr. Baylie cites Canne, Barrow, and other advocates of Independency, and speaking of Mr. John Robinson as the "most learned, polished, and modest spirit that that sect ever enjoyed," adds, "The best of the Brownist [or Independent] arguments are brought in the greatest lustre and strength" in Mr. Cotton's work, *The Way of the Churches* . . . acknowledged by our [Independent] brethren as their judgment, without dissent or doubt."

But Mr. Cotton himself said, Independency is "of the New Testament . . . of the word of God."² This work also won to Independency Dr. John Owen, for which we have his own words as follows:—

"I was then a young man myself, about the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven years. The controversy between Independency and Presbytery was young also, nor, indeed, by me clearly understood, especially as stated on the Congregational side . . . having looked very little farther into those affairs than I was led by an opposition to Episcopacy and ceremonies . . . my acquaintance lay wholly with ministers and people of

¹ *Dissuasive*, pp. 56-58, 17, 163.

² *Way Cleared*. 1645. 9, 16. "That is ancient which is primitive and to be found in the Scriptures; neither are the names of these that either have been of this judgment, or have or doe practise it, of meane and contemptible reputation; but they have given sufficient testimony to the world of their learning and godlinesse, as learned *Baines, Ames, Cotton*, with the many in these times, both in New England, here and other places, men not a jot behinde any of their Predecessors in the knowledge of the mysteries of the Gospel; yea, anointed with the gifts of the Spirit above most of their fellows." pp. 22, 23. Henry Burton's "*A Moderate Answer to Mr. Prin's full Reply to certaine Observations on his first Twelve Questions*." London. 1645.

the Presbyterian way. But sundry books being published on either side, I perused and compared them with the Scriptures and one another, according as I received ability from God. After a general view of them, as was my manner in other controversies, I fixed on one to take under peculiar consideration and examination, which seemed most methodically and strongly to maintain that which was contrary, as I thought, to my present persuasion. This was Mr. Cotton's book *Of the Keyes*. The examination and computation of which, merely for my own particular satisfaction, with what diligence and sincerity I was able, I engaged in. What progress I made in that undertaking I can manifest unto any by the discourses on that subject and animadversions on that book yet abiding by me. In the pursuit and management of this work, quite beside and contrary to my expectation, at a time wherein I could expect nothing on that account but ruin in this world, without the knowledge or advice of, or conference with any one person of that judgment, I was prevailed on to receive that and those principles which I had thought to have set myself in an opposition unto. And indeed this way of impartial examining all things by the Word, comparing causes with causes, and things with things, laying aside all prejudicate respects unto persons or present traditions, is a course that I would admonish all to beware of who would avoid the danger of being made Independents."

Dr. Owen classed Cotton with Calvin, Zanchius, Beza, Perkins, Preston, Sibbs, Rogers, and others "whose fame . . . is gone out into all the nations about us, and their remembrance is blessed at home and abroad."¹

Thus the advanced thought of New England won to the side of popular government John Owen and Thomas Goodwin, whom Antony Wood styled "the Atlases and Patriarchs of Independency." Dr. Owen, chaplain to Fairfax and Cromwell, and preacher to Parliament on great occasions, had a decisive influence with the republican leaders. He was especially intimate with Cromwell, to whom he became personally known after the death of the King. He preached before the House of Commons on the day after the execution of Charles, the tyrant. Vice Chancellor of Oxford when Cromwell was Chancel-

¹ *Owen's Works*. 1654. Ed. 1853. xi, 487.

lor, "as much beloved by the Churchmen as by his own party," he promptly declined Clarendon's proffers of immediate preferment. His affinities would lead him to New England. On the death of Mr. Cotton's successor, — the hardly less distinguished Mr. Norton, — Governor Endicott, by appointment of the General Court, Oct. 20, 1663, entreated Mr. Owen¹ to become teacher of the church in Boston, nor was the mutual hope relinquished for some years; for so late as July, 1656, Mr. Daniel Gookin of Massachusetts, then in England, wrote that Dr. Owen and "some choice ones who intended to come with him are diverted."

"The Great Dissenter" died in 1683, and was laid in his humble grave at Bunhill Fields, "the Puritan Necropolis," followed, says Dr. Allibone, by "more than sixty of the nobility of the realm"; and there he sleeps with John Bunyan, Thomas Goodwin, Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, George Fox, and others excluded by "the Church" from "Christian" burial in "consecrated" ground — unless their ashes hallow it.

Of Dr. Owen's illustrious disciple, John Locke, Sir James Mackintosh says: "Educated amongst English dissenters during the short period of their political ascendancy, he early imbibed that deep piety and ardent spirit of liberty which characterized that body of men. . . . By the Independent divines who were his instructors, our philosopher was taught those principles of religious liberty which they were the first to disclose to the world"; "which we owe," says Lord King, "not in the least degree to what is called the Church of England. On the contrary, we owe all these to the Independents in the time of the Commonwealth, and to Locke, their most illustrious and enlightened disciple."

Another important fact in the history of the Commonwealth was the residence in New England for some years of Milton's hero,

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old :
 to know
 Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
 What severs each, thou hast learned, which few have done :
 Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
 In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."

¹ A portrait of Dr. Owen prefaces Vol. IV of the 1870 edition of Carlyle's *Cromwell's Letters, etc.*

In the family of Mr. Cotton, and admitted to closest intimacy with the great divine in his study, young Vane was there grounded in Scripture principles, and in the storms of bigotry which drove him from Massachusetts received the training peculiarly preparatory to his career as the great leader of the House of Commons against the hosts of intolerance.

So violent were the times that Mr. Roger Williams told Mr. Robert Baylie that he "was employed to buy from the savages, for the late governor (Vane) and Master Cotton with their followers, . . . land without the *English* plantation, where they might retire and live, according to their own minds, exempt from the jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastick, of all others."¹

But the Ruler of Nations had yet other work for Cotton and Vane and Williams.² It is a very probable suggestion that a code of laws³ found in Mr. Cotton's study, after his death, "was their joint work."

Mr. Cotton seems to have studied political science from the first. It was the "wisdom of his words and spirit," in a sermon on "Civil Government," that won the fast friendship of the Earl of Dorchester,⁴ who ever after favored Mr. Cotton in his troubles from prelatric bigotry. His "love followed the young man, Mr. Vane," on his return to England, "and it is well it doth so," said Lord Say and Seal in his correspondence with Cotton.⁵

Governor Vane was ever a magnanimous friend to New England. He emphatically declared "that Misstress Hutchinson was much mistaken and wronged, that she was a most pious woman, and that her tenets, if well understood, were all true, at least very tolerable";⁶ and certainly Mr. Wheelwright's ser-

¹ Baylie's *Dissuasive*. 1645. p. 63.

² In his will, Dec. 1652, Mr. Cotton says, "And because yt South part of my house wch Sr Henry Vane built whilst he sojourned with me, He by a deed gave it (at his departure) to my son, Seaborne, I doe, yfor, leave it unto him as his by right." Quoted in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, 1873, p. 286.

Fifty, a legislative committee on the reorganization of the Courts, held its sessions in this Cotton-Vane house in 1804. p. 43, Sullivan's *Address Suffolk Bar*, 1824. Samuel Adams Drake's Boston, 1873, 50, 51.

³ Dean's *Memoir of Nath. Ward*, Index, *Body of Liberties and Lawes of Massachusetts*, where the subject is critically and fully examined.

⁴ *Life by Norton*. Ed. 1653. p. 18. Sir Dudley Carlton, the able diplomatist and polished statesman, afterward Viscount Dorchester, died 1631. Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, 112.

⁵ Hutchinson's *Hist. of Mass.*, i, p. 66.

⁶ *Dissuasive*, p. 64.

mon, which set the colony on fire under the influence of Winthrop, seems harmless enough.¹ Mr. Vane's letter of June 10, 1645, to Governor Winthrop, "desiring patience and forbearance, one with another . . . though there be difference in opinions," was, says Hutchinson, "in a good spirit, and the reproof was decent as well as seasonable." At last reason came; when the magistrates sent for his signature to a paper for the banishment of another minister, the dying Winthrop exclaimed, with remorse, "I have had my hand too much in such things already."²

Mr. Upham says "of Mrs. Hutchinson, one of the most remarkable persons of her age and sex, learned, accomplished, and of an heroic spirit," that "immediately after her exile from Massachusetts the flood-gates of slander were opened against her. Every species of abuse and defamation was resorted to, and tales of calumny were put into circulation so extravagant, disgusting, loathsome, and shocking, that nothing but the blackest malignity could have fabricated, or the most infuriated and blinded bigotry have credited them." The original source of this offensive matter is Winthrop's *Journal*.

As the prelates, Whitgift and Bancroft, logic failing them, hired the witty Tom Nash to ridicule the Puritans, and as Mr. Wood, in 1634, resented the "many scandalous and false reports upon New England, even from the sulphurous breath of every base ballad-monger,"³ so now, when argument failed Rutherford, Baylie, and their fellows, Mr. Winthrop's unfortunate pamphlet about *Antinomians and Familists*⁴ supplied their batteries with unsavory charges of public and private scandal, of monstrous births and Gorgons dire. Yet not till 1644, seven years after the foul storm of bigotry that wellnigh wrecked the colony,—full time for calmer thoughts,—was this unhappy "*Story*" published in print. Contrast with this Mr. Cotton's spirit and conduct. He said, "Such as endeavored the healing

¹ First published by Mr. Dawson, *Hist. Mag.*, April, 1867.

² In Moore's *Materials for American History*, in Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, Jan. 1868. 29. Bishop's *New England Judged*, 1703. 226.

³ *N. E. Prospect*, 1634. iv.

⁴ The later editions were under the title of the *Short Story*. Mr. Savage well says the author's "judgment is so blinded by passion that he seems an unfortunate advocate rather than an impartial reporter." Savage's *Winthrop's Journal*, 1853, I, vi, 284, 293-298, 310-316. *Historical Magazine*, 1857. p. 321, 1858, pp. 22, 170.

of those distempers did seeme to me to be transported with more jealousies, and heates, and paroxysms of spirit, than would well stand with brotherly love or the rule of the Gospel . . . the bitter fruits whereof doe remaine to this day, in the Letters sent over that year, from hence to England . . . Some simple-hearted, honest men, and some truths of God fared the worse."¹

In his dedication of Mr. Cotton's *Gospel Conversion*, 1645 — "To the honorable and true-hearted lover of his country, Sir Henry Vane, junior, Knight, sometime Governor of New England, Treasurer of the Navie Royall, and a member of the House of Commons"—Francis Cornwell says, "You left your native soil in the persecuting times of the prelates, chusing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, according to the light they had received . . . and in that dawning light . . . freed from the yoke of . . . the Bishops that kept you in bondage, you had liberty there to debate those questions which the naming only of them here would have rendered a man odious . . . a thorough Reformation agreeable to the Word of God."

"We claim a right of property in the glory of Sir Henry Vane," says Mr. Upham, in his excellent memoir of that statesman, "because his name is enrolled as a citizen of Massachusetts and adorns the list of her governors, and still more because his whole life was devoted to the illustration and defence of American principles, and finally sacrificed in their cause. . . . In the colony of Massachusetts he had his preparation for the great work of liberty, and had become imbued with the inflexible and stern spirit of freedom and virtue, which, in that early age, as much as at any subsequent period, pervaded New England; and now, on a larger and more conspicuous theatre, he was to unfold and vindicate what are justly termed 'the American principles.'" "They are not kings who sit on thrones, but they who know how to govern."

¹ *The Way . . . Cleared*. 1648. p. 63. Mr. Hutchinson relates (*Hist. of Mass.*, Ed. 1795, i, 165), that "Mr. Cotton upon his death-bed ordered his son to burn all his papers relative to the religious disputes begun in the time of Sir Henry Vane's year. He had bundled them up with an intention to do it himself, but death prevented his going into his study for that purpose. His son [Seaborne] loth to destroy what appeared to him valuable, made a case of conscience to Mr. Norton, whether he was bound to comply. Mr. Norton determined against them."

J. WINGATE THORNTON.

Boston.

[To be continued.]

ISAAC WATTS AND HIS HYMNS.

A PECULIAR and reverent interest gathers around the homes of all great men ; relics and mementos are sacredly preserved and fondly cherished ; while the quiet and secluded places where sleep the loved and honored dead, awaken deeper and more impressive emotions than gorgeous palaces and cathedrals, romantic old towers, or historic castles.

Among London's famous and renowned attractions is one little spot, so plain and humble in its outward aspect as scarcely to attract the passer-by ; yet this little spot is accounted a "precious inheritance" to the people of Protestant England ; and as so much of their history is our history, it has also a peculiar interest for us.

It is only an "old grave-yard" ; but it is the "*Campo Santo*" of the Non-conformists, many of whom were persecuted for righteousness' sake, and suffered loss and shame while struggling valiantly for the truth. It is the famous "Bunhill Fields," covering but four acres and a half, yet holding the dust of many generations, to the number of one hundred and twenty-four thousand dead, chiefly from families "firmly and faithfully attached to our dearly-bought and highly-valued civil and religious liberties." Truly, it has a noble roll of the mighty dead.

"Ay, call it holy ground,"

For they are God's acres ; the very dust is sacred, and the whole ground is separate, consecrated, and sanctified.

One chill October afternoon we wandered through this quiet city of graves, alone with God and with the dead. From the silent dwellings comes no sound of joy or grief, while in the busy street outside, the great stream of human life, feeling, and action constantly flows on. We traced the names of the most illustrious (pastors, poets, historians), and deciphered the curious and faded inscriptions on the weather-worn and broken slabs and crumbling tombs, till, in imagination, we saw those long processions, hundreds of years ago, bringing in their precious dead, here to rest until the trump of God shall shake the "silent chamber walls" and break the

"turf-sealed ground," calling this mighty multitude to life and immortality.

No interments have been made in this cemetery since 1852, and the earliest date now found on any stone is on that of "Deborra Warr, Nov. 10, 1623." Many ministers of the Gospel, who, for their faithful adherence to dissenting views, were ejected during the days of intolerance and persecution in the seventeenth century, and were refused burial within the precincts of the city churches, were laid to rest in this parcel of ground, then in a rural outskirt of London.

How much more we desire to know, as we read the simple records on the headstones! What life histories, all unwritten and unknown, lie hidden behind them! What blessed memories hang around some of the names! Perhaps none recall more pleasant associations than that of John Bunyan, who is buried here. An effigy of Bunyan lies upon the tomb, which is of granite, and ornamented with illustrations from his "*Pilgrim's Progress*," in bas-relief. On one side, Christian toiling onward under the weight of the heavy burden on his back; and on the other side, Christian eased of his burden at the sight of the cross. The simple inscription reads: "John Bunyan, Author of '*Pilgrim's Progress*,' Ob. 31st August, 1688, *Æt.* 60."

Among others are the tombs of Daniel Defoe, the author of "*Robinson Crusoe*"; George Fox, the Quaker; Rev. Thomas Rowe, Drs. Goodwin, Owen, and Rippon; and those of the Cromwells (two of which have recently been discovered seven feet beneath the surface of the ground), and the mother of the Wesleys. In this connection it may be interesting to state, that behind the Wesleyan Chapel, which stands just opposite Bunhill Cemetery and beside the house in which he died, the Rev. John Wesley is buried, with his brothers and sisters, and also Dr. Adam Clark.

Another monument which attracts the attention of the visitor is that of Dr. Isaac Watts, whose name is so intimately identified with our church psalmody that it has become a household word with every lover of sacred song. Montgomery says of him, that "he was almost the inventor of hymns in our language," and that "his name is the greatest among hymn writers."

The life of Watts is not so much a record of interesting and varied incident as it is beautiful and instructive from the brightness of his example,—a character in public and in private most amiable and worthy of imitation. It was a life of pure and undissembled piety, of sincerity and all-embracing charity, accompanied with a humility which, like a deep setting, made his many virtues shine the brighter. No party names, no differences in forms of worship, nor variety of opinion on doubtful questions, separated him from those he believed were genuine disciples of his Master. Dr. Johnson, an active member of the Established Church, says, "Such was he as every Christian church would rejoice to have adopted," regarding him as justly worthy of imitation in all but his Non-conformity. To Dr. Johnson, conformity to the Established Church was essential to Christian perfection; but to others, the Non-conformity of Dr. Watts seems more an heroic virtue than a blemish upon his character.

Isaac Watts, the eldest of nine children, was born in Southampton, England, July 17, 1674. His parents were eminently pious, and, with other Non-conformists, suffered much persecution and also imprisonment during the reign of Charles II. He early manifested an uncommon genius; he was an apt scholar, beginning the study of Latin when but four years of age, and was from his boyhood a writer of verses. His mother used to offer prizes of farthings to the children in her husband's school for the best bit of poetry they could write; and when but seven or eight years old, Isaac won the copper medal by the following somewhat saucy couplet:—

"I write not for your farthing, but to try
How I your farthing writers can outvie."

Preferring to share his lot with the Dissenters, he refused offers for an university education, and completed a course of study at the London Academy, of which the Rev. Thomas Rowe was tutor. Early impressions of truth and of the importance of religion seemed to guard his mind from youthful follies. He became a decided Christian, and at the age of nineteen joined in communion with the church of which his teacher was pastor. Preparatory to entering upon the Gospel ministry, which he had

determined should be his life-work, he spent a few years in study and devotion, and during this time wrote many of his beautiful hymns.

Watts inherited a great love and pure taste for music, and his ear for melody was most sensitive to the deficiencies of the commonplace music of the time. He complained to his father, a deacon of the church, who suggested that he give them something better if he could ; and soon the congregation were invited to close their evening service with a new hymn, —

" Behold the glories of the Lamb,
Amid his Father's throne ;
Prepare new honors for his name,
And songs before unknown."

This was Isaac Watts' first hymn, and all were so much pleased with the fresh "new song," that the author continued to supply them with hymns. Such was the commencement of a work which has done so much to assist the devotions of Christians, and "to embalm in their hearts and memories the great scriptural truths of our faith."

"This single seed-corn sprouted into a rich hymnologic harvest." A volume of original hymns, entitled "Hymns and Spiritual Songs," was published in 1707, and in less than ten years it had reached its sixth edition. "The Psalms of David imitated in the Language of the New Testament," which many regard as Watts' greatest work, first appeared in 1719, and before his death, which occurred in 1748, its extensive circulation had demanded the fifteenth edition. The Hymns of Dr. Watts were published in this country by Dr. Franklin, as early as 1741, but were not generally used in American churches until after the Revolution.

He preached his first sermon on his twenty-fourth birthday, and was soon chosen as an assistant to the Rev. Dr. Chauncey, pastor of a dissenting church in London. He afterwards succeeded Dr. Chauncey in the pastoral office, and notwithstanding the persecutions and distresses which pursued the Non-conformists after King William's death, he entered upon his work with great zeal and devotion. Born and educated in a "time that tried men's souls," he was always firm in his principles, attached to his brethren, and fearless of personal danger ; and "he chose

rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to bask in the sunshine of courtly favor, or to stand among ecclesiastical dignitaries."

In external appearance, Dr. Watts was rather diminutive, and once when rallied about his inferior stature, he wittily responded, with a dignity and manner peculiar to himself, —

" Could I in stature reach the pole,
Or grasp creation in my span,
I'd still be measured by my soul, —
The *soul's* the *stature* of the *man*."

So rapid was the flow of thought and such the promptitude of language, that he only sketched an outline of his sermon and trusted to his extemporaneous powers for the elucidation of his theme. Gestures in the pulpit he discarded, recognizing no correspondence between corporal action and theological truth, but a certain gravity and propriety of utterance gave solemnity and impressiveness to his discourses. His prayers were short and simple, comprehending the myriad wants of the soul, yet having such brevity and pertinence of expression that, at the conclusion, it seemed impossible that anything more or less could have been said. As a Christian pastor he was dearly beloved by his congregation; and he often said, that "in the ministration of holy things he experienced the greatest enjoyment he expected to find this side of heaven."

Very many of his hymns were outgrowths of his sermons, written for the occasion, and embodying the sentiments of the text upon which he had been preaching. The familiar hymn, commencing, —

" Am I a soldier of the cross,"

Was written for a sermon on the text, "*Stand fast in the faith; quit you like men, be strong*"; a hymn full of the true spirit of the Christian soldier, earnest in his conflict and sure of victory through faith in Christ.

" O happy soul that lives on high,"

Was a hymn for a discourse upon the "*Hidden Life of a Christian*." His soul soared aloft, and he seemed constantly to dwell in a celestial atmosphere, and to drink deep from the fountain

of bliss ; and this hymn seems to be the expression of that higher Christian life to which he attained.

A favorite missionary psalm, in the spirit of David's seventy-second, is that beginning, —

“ Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
Does his successive journeys run.”

This bears the date of 1719 ; and another, hailing the Messiah's coming and kingdom, commences thus : —

“ Joy to the world ! the Lord is come ! ”

His public labors were often interrupted by prostrating sickness, induced by close application to study and fervency in preaching. But thus, through bodily suffering and trial, his mind became more spiritually enlightened ; and rising above these distresses and afflictions, he wrote hymns of high hope and holy joy, rehearsed his conflicts, and sung of God's preserving care and healing mercy.

One of his best hymns commences with these words : —

“ My God ! the spring of all my joys,”

Beautifully showing that God's presence is light in darkness :

“ In darkest shades if he appear,
My dawning is begun !
He is my soul's sweet morning star,
And he my rising sun.

“ The opening heavens around me shine
With beams of sacred bliss,
While Jesus shows his heart is mine,
And whispers, I am his ! ”

Again, —

“ When I can read my title clear,”

A hymn expressive of the support which a hope of heaven gives amid the trials of earth.

In early manhood he was cruelly repulsed by the lady to whom he offered his heart and hand, and his sensitive spirit was sorely wounded by her cutting remark, that though she loved the jewel, she could not admire the casket which contained it. Under the pressure of this bitter disappointment his soul cried out, —

“ How vain are all things here below !
How false, and yet how fair ! ”

But his disappointment melts into sweet devotion to his Lord,
and inspires the prayer, —

“Dear Saviour ! let thy beauties be
My soul’s eternal food,
And grace command my heart away
From all created good.”

An incident is narrated of a young man whose hardened feelings were overcome by simply reading the hymn, —

“Show pity, Lord ! O Lord, forgive,” —

Truth so pungently expressed by the poet, that it brought conviction to his heart, and he became a converted man.

Another hymn recalls an interesting association. A young Jewess in London found one day a leaf of an old hymn-book which had been brought into the house around some parcel, and she read upon it these words : —

“Not all the blood of beasts,
On Jewish altars slain,
Could give the guilty conscience peace,
Or wash away the stain.”

The words haunted her and she could not shake off the impression they produced. She turned to her Bible, and soon the “peace of God like a river” flowed into her soul. Her husband, displeased at the change in her religious belief, obtained a divorce. But the love she bore her Master sustained her through trial and poverty, and His presence illumined the dark valley of death, as she consciously trod the unknown way.

In the song the sinner sometimes hears the Saviour gently calling, the struggling and tempted feels himself lifted from the snares of worldly allurements, and the “wearied and tossed ones” are comforted by some sweetly soothing strain, as well as by the tender words of the preacher. So we sing, —

“Touched with a sympathy within,
He knows our feeble frame ;”

And then again, —

“Alas ! and did my Saviour bleed.”

Sweetly he sung, —

“Let me but hear my Saviour say,
‘Strength shall be equal to thy day’ ;”

And out from some peculiar manifestation of God's providence,
the patient, submissive heart takes up his strains, —

"I can do all things — or can bear
All suffering, if my Lord be there ; "

For

"When I am weak, then am I strong ;
Grace is my shield, and Christ my song."

But it is no easy task to make selections from so many
hymns of varied excellence and beauty. It may therefore
suffice to cite the first lines of some of those most familiar and
to us sweetly inspiring hymns. For instance, —

"Give me the wings of faith to rise."
"Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove."
"Eternal Wisdom ! Thee we praise."
"Go, preach my Gospel," saith the Lord."

And, —

"Happy the heart where graces reign."

His Sabbath-day songs are sweet hosannahs of praise for
the resurrection of Christ and our salvation, as instanced in
these truly beautiful hymns, —

"This is the day the Lord hath made ; "

And again, —

"Welcome, sweet day of rest."

What power, also, in that sweet song of Calvary so full of
pathetic beauty and grandeur, and so precious to all saintly
hearts, beginning, —

"When I survey the wondrous cross
On which the Prince of Glory died."

It is all soul-inspiring in its tenderness and loving devotion, —

"See, from his head, his hands, his feet,
Sorrow and love flow mingled down !
Did e'er such love and sorrow meet,
Or thorns compose so rich a crown ?

"Were the whole realm of nature mine,
That were an offering far too small :
Love so amazing, so divine,
Demands my soul, my life, my all ! "

Some of his psalms and hymns are most rich in lofty images
and rhetorical figures. Here is one : —

"The heavens declare thy glory, Lord."

It is a clear rendering of the nineteenth Psalm ; nature itself seems speaking in every line, and, as it were, prompts the Christian application. A noble apostrophe is happily introduced in the fifth verse : —

“Great Sun of Righteousness, arise,”

And the whole hymn is complete in its strength, beauty, and sublimity.

Among his popular “Imitations of the Psalms of David in the language of the New Testament,” may be mentioned his rendering of the ninetieth Psalm : —

“Our God, our help in ages past,”

And the one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm : —

“I’ll praise my Maker with my breath,”

Which has a peculiar interest as being among the last words of John Wesley. Another is a sweet and tender interpretation of parts of the one hundred and third Psalm : —

“Our days are as the grass,
Or like the morning flower.”

Many of his psalms seem to be the soul utterances of a simple and sublime faith in God. Such is his paraphrase on the twenty-third Psalm, a very perfect and loving comment upon the words of that delightful and inspired meditation : —

“The Lord my Shepherd is ;”

And another on the forty-sixth Psalm : —

“God is the refuge of his saints,”

A song full of assurance of safety and triumph, and of sweet, impressive beauty in its closing verses, —

“There is a stream, whose gentle flow
Supplies the city of our God.”

A strong, earnest psalm is his brief call to praise, founded on the one hundred and seventeenth Psalm, — a grand old doxology, beginning thus : —

“From all that dwell below the skies,
Let the Creator’s praise arise.”

All his psalms and hymns are remarkably comprehensive ; they are interfused with the great doctrines of the Gospel, and admirably cover the various phases of Christian experience.

Much of his devotional poetry is faulty ; it has its imperfections, its deficiencies, and extravagances. But an exact judgment, a nice discernment, and an active imagination, with a well-tuned ear and copious diction, have given to many of his psalms and hymns an unparalleled excellence, and won for their author a high reputation.

In this rambling sketch it is impossible to do justice to the character of Dr. Watts as a Christian man or as an author. His thoughts are always religiously pure ; piety was the ruling spirit in his mind, and is diffused through all his writings. It has been said that "Watts' Hymns are the best exponents of Bible doctrines outside of sacred text." Their treasures of Christian literature have been sung by God's people for generations, and their sentiments of "holy living," their "spirit of devotion," and their "strong, ever-abiding trust in Christ," have been wrought into many a heart's life and experience.

But not to Christian nations and to Christian people alone, is the influence of these sacred hymns confined. It reaches even into Central Africa, where a copy of Watts' Psalms and Hymns was carried, and years afterward it was found in the house of the chieftain, hung up as a *fetishe*, to be worshipped.

For thirty-six years Dr. Watts lived as a welcome guest in the family of Sir Thomas Abney, in London, the constant recipient of their attentions and affections, undisturbed by cares of his own, and surrounded by everything that could contribute to his enjoyment and favor the pursuit of study. He never married, but he loved children, and his "Divine Songs," published in 1745, are among the earliest impressed upon the infant mind. One of them, "A general song of praise to God," begins :—

"How glorious is our heavenly King."

Again, as if with a happy heart, appreciating the power and goodness of God as seen in his works and wonders, he breaks out, in pleasing and unaffected simplicity, in these words :—

"I sing th' almighty power of God,
That made the mountains rise ;"

The whole hymn is full of truth and beauty, yet so simple that a child may understand it.

In addition to his other writings, Dr. Watts sketched out the plan of the "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," but growing infirmities prevented the accomplishment of the work. At his request, it was completed by Dr. Doddridge, with whom an early acquaintance had ripened into an intimate friendship.

Special interest attaches to the beautiful hymn, —

"There is a land of pure delight,"

For it is said, that from Southampton, as he looked out on the rich landscape over the river, "he thought of a 'land of pure delight,' and of 'sweet fields beyond the swelling flood, dressed in living green,' as an image of the heavenly Canaan," and happily introduces death as a "narrow sea" dividing "this heavenly land from ours."

Towards the close of life his vigorous mind and active powers failed, but his faith in God remained firm and unshaken. He said he blessed God he could lie down with comfort at night, not solicitous whether he woke in this world or another. He *lived* upon the promises of God, regretting that he could not read more, not, he said, that his confidence in God or his promises might be strengthened, for he believed them enough to venture an eternity upon them.

Singing on with unabated cheerfulness through his declining years, and with a hope that triumphed over pain and death, "waiting God's leave to die," as he expressed it, this good man crossed that "narrow sea." Once he had sung, —

"Jesus can make a dying bed
Feel soft as downy pillows are,"

And his song became his own experience. In the fulness of years, calmly resting his head on Jesus' breast, he "breathed his life out sweetly there," having, in his own beautiful words, uttered this almost prophetic invocation to Bunhill's hallowed repose, —

"Unvail thy bosom, faithful tomb;
Take this new treasure to thy trust;
And give these sacred relics room
To slumber in the silent dust."

In the nave of Westminster Abbey, the last resting-place of so many kings, queens, poets, artists, divines, and philosophers,

we saw a little tablet of white marble, sacred to the memory of Dr. Watts. On its front is a figure of Watts sitting on a stool, apparently lost in deep thought and meditation. In one hand he holds a pen, and with the other points to a celestial globe, while an angel seems opening to his enraptured senses the "wonders of creation." A bust of the great divine rests upon the monument, and below are the words, "Isaac Watts, D. D., born July 17, 1674, died November 25, 1748."

Fitting place for such a tribute to such a man! The transepts, nave, chapels, and cloisters of this glorious old Abbey are crowded with elaborate monuments and groups of sculpture, in memory of the choicest of Old England's dead. But more sacred to us, was that little spot in the old Bunhill Fields. There he lies surrounded by his predecessors and fellow-laborers in the Gospel ministry, and near him his friend, John Hart, a hymn writer, and also Dr. Stennett, whose hymns we also sing.

"Silent and idle and low they lie."

At his own request, the following inscription was placed upon the tomb:—

"Isaac Watts, D. D., Pastor of a Church of Christ in London; successor of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Caryl, Dr. John Owen, Mr. David Clarkson, and Dr. Isaac Chauncey; after fifty years of feeble labors in the Gospel, interrupted by four years of tiresome sickness, was at last dismissed to rest, Nov. xxv. A. D. 1748, Æt. 75. II. Cor. 5:8. 'Absent from the body, present with the Lord.' Col. 3:4. 'When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, I shall also appear with Him in glory.' *In uno Jesu omnia.*"

His work is done, he has received his "crown of rejoicing," and he sings the praises of God in "a sweeter, nobler song" than ever he sung on earth. "His dust has returned to the earth as it was, and his spirit unto God who gave it."

Plucking a leaf from the memorial tree planted at the foot of his grave, we took our leave of the last resting-place of Isaac Watts.

HELEN F. CLARKE.

West Newton, Mass.

DR. WADDINGTON'S CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY.¹

FIVE years have elapsed since the first volume of this work of great labor was given to the not large but intelligent public in England and America who are deeply interested in the subject-matter of its research, and who have been led to look to this author, more than to any one else, to do justice to their needs and to the greatness and interest of his theme. Situated as he is within easiest daily reach of the British Museum, the State Paper Office, the Library of Dr. Williams, and those at Sion College and Lambeth, and within a few hours and a few shillings of the added accumulations of Cambridge and Oxford, and the small but priceless collection at York Minster, it would seem that his leisure and his well-known zeal for the subject ought to have enabled him to do all that any one man could do, on the one hand, or any other man ask, on the other, to place clearly and distinctly before the eyes of all cultivated and candid people the record of the very life and spirit of liberty for the Church and the State, as it has been evolving itself in and through the Congregationalism of the last three hundred years.

The fact cannot be disguised that Dr. Waddington's first volume disappointed the public, — as not only too scattering in style, overladen with too large a mass of at best semi-related facts and citations, and wanting due momentum and on-going from the beginning to the end; but especially as having been aggregated rather than assimilated into one body, and as lacking the inward life of a conscious theory which had caught, and — if one might so speak — apotheosized into itself the thoughts and purposes of God in His providence over His church and over the world. It had, moreover, grave and palpable defects of manner, chiefest of which was its frequent failure to give even the slightest hint to the inquirer whom it was leading on, of the exact place where its citations might be found, to be verified, and the subject pursued by those

¹ *Congregational History, 1567-1700. In relation to Contemporaneous Events, and the Conflict for Freedom, Purity, and Independence.* By John Waddington, D. D., author of *Congregational History, 1200-1567*. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874. 8vo. pp. xxiv, 710. \$5.00.

eager to make the most of any and every clew to the recondite knowledge of which they were in search ; while its total lack of all indexing made it a continual grievance and perpetual weariness to those who had frequent occasion to consult its pages. Ending at a period still so remote as 1567, it never came in the present writer's way to test the accuracy of its rendering, whether of manuscripts or ancient books, and he does not remember to have heard any adverse criticism upon it in this regard. From the notice given by the last January's *British Quarterly* to this completing volume it seemed fair to think well of it in advance. The reviewer suggested, indeed, the anticipation that there would be something of the same ground for dissatisfaction as before ; that it would often be found difficult to conjecture from his abbreviated references what book or manuscript Dr. Waddington was intending to cite, and sometimes impossible to guess where, in the mass of some great work, the few lines to which he referred might lurk. But from the avowal that "the student will regard it as one of the chief merits of the volume" that "the witnesses are allowed to appear in regular succession in their proper garb, and to speak for themselves in their own manner," one was prepared to expect a volume which, however he might dislike its methods or differ with its judgments, should be thoroughly trustworthy as a repository of facts, and a condensed glance at the chief authorities of the subject.

The writer has examined this stout octavo with a good deal of care, has taken pains to identify and compare with their manuscript and printed originals nearly one half of its multitudinous extracts, and as the result he feels prepared to express a judgment upon the book ; which judgment, while it is far from being what was anticipated, he stands ready to justify as being well founded in fact, as he is quite sure it is well grounded in conscience.

1. For an issue of the English press—and especially as bearing the imprint of one of its most respectable publishing houses—this is singularly blemished with the results of bad proof-reading. Such errors as "defencece" (p. 7) ; "Alymer" for Aylmer (15) ; "Scipio, Bellot" (as if two names) for Scipio Bellot (76) ; "reproaches" (131) ; "parsy" for pursy (139) ; "Tick-

bill" for Tickhill (163); "narrow sense" for narrow sense (177); "Douriam" for Douname (185); "J. Van Hant," for J. Van Hout (194); William "Jackson" for William Jepson (194); "Staiesmore" for Staesmore (209); "spnet" for spent (211); "Southwork" for Southworth (219); "Nayland" for Neyland (267); "Tonteville" for Toutedville (299); "Symons" for Symmes (306); "eighthy" for eighty (325); "Walachren" for Walcheren (437); "pratical" for practical (688); and "Stansfell" for Stanshall (706), one does not expect to find, and very seldom does find, in any reputable London work. Confusion also occurs in several instances in consequence of carelessness in omitting to place the inverted commas where a quotation rightly ends, or in inserting them where they do not belong. Examples which might perplex the reader occur on pp. 90, 146, 240, 249, and 654.

2. The matter of the citation of authorities, which in a work like this is of the very first importance, will be found to be left at distressingly loose ends. The reviewer in the *British Quarterly* said on this head:-

Where there is so much to provoke further inquiry, it is of especial moment that everything should be done, so far as possible, to facilitate and encourage it. Indications of the sources whence he has derived his materials that may be quite clear to one who is so familiar with them as Dr. Waddington, may be quite as provokingly vague to the ordinary, or less experienced inquirer. Should not the titles of all printed books be given in full? And should not all MSS. be so described that the student who is disposed to consult them may be able to do so without any further aid than that which is supplied by the reference? We also observe that while, as a rule, all extracts are given in small print, they are sometimes printed in the same type as the text. Several are given without any indication of the source from which they have been taken.

Grave fault is to be found with Dr. Waddington on each of the points here raised. As to rare books, while it is not necessary that the full title, author's name, and year of publication, should be repeated every time the volume is cited, it does seem well that on its first being named these particulars should be given; and in the case of an excessively scarce volume, it would be of use also to mention in what public library it is to be found. How many really intelligent students of the Christian literature of the past must fail to identify the works intended from such meagre data as "An Apologie, etc.," "Bar. agst.

Gif," "Barlow," "Vindication," and many others equally jejune and vague. Even the well-informed American scholar would not object to have added to the curt citation, "Mather Papers" (569, etc.), the reminder that those papers have been given to the public in the *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, 4th series, 8th volume; while to English investigators such an expansion of the reference might save hours, if not days, of laborious inquiry. Sometimes this brevity is itself of a misleading quality, as where the volume which Limborch simply compiled and edited, whose title is *Præstantium ac Eruditiorum Virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ, etc.*, is cited once merely as "Limborch" (119) and once as "Limborch Epistolæ" (121). So in the case of manuscripts: how little help will most Americans get towards their research by being told that a great many things are found in "S. P. Dom.," some in "S. P. Ad-denda," some in "Additional," and some in "Add.,"—and all the more that to name the volume and the page, if one could guess the series hinted at, seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

The great vice of the book in this respect, however, consists in the fact that, to the source of the majority of its extracts from the books and manuscripts which it makes its authorities, no clew whatever is given. Considerably more than three hundred instances may be noted of the quotation of (professedly) the words of authors, unaccompanied by that aid which ought to have enabled the reader at once to verify the fairness of Dr. Waddington's rendering of, and inferences from, the alleged citation, and to pursue the subject. Nor are the references which are given always accurate. The passage quoted (p. 6) from Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, etc., in the copy at hand, is at p. 67 instead of p. 43; while Barrow's *Plaine Refutation of Giffard* does not seem to contain at p. 76 any such remark as Dr. Waddington (p. 40) cites therefrom.

3. There is a most unpleasant number of errors of statement in the book. Some, to be sure, are comparatively unimportant, like the putting (p. 106) the issue of the first edition of Bound's treatise on the Sabbath in 1594 instead of 1595; his calling Mr. Crabe Mr. "Crab" (p. 210); the date (p. 136) of the Hampton Court Conference on the 11th Jan. 1603-4, instead

of the 12th; the statement (on the same page) that the bishops alone "were admitted to the audience chamber of the king on the first day," when Barlow says "five deanes" went in with them; and that (pp. 220 and 225) the number of the Mayflower's passengers was 101, instead of the true number, 102. Others, however, are of more consequence. Dr. Waddington (p. 159) has taken the date of Richard Clyfton's wife's death—3d Sept. 1613—as the date of his, Clyfton himself having lived until 20th May, 1616. He has apparently (pp. 197 and 198) attributed to Helwisse the authorship of the book originally entitled *Objections Answered by Way of Dialogue, etc.*, 1615, which was really written, as John Robinson indicates in his reply to it, by "John Morton and his associates." He says (p. 202) Thomas Drake "spent his early life at sea," and "with characteristic bluntness" challenged Euring, etc., the fact being, if one may take Euring's word for it, that he (Euring) was the one who "had not been brought up among the muses, but mariners, etc." He talks about "one of the *main braces*" of the Mayflower giving way, and being pushed back into its place by the great iron screw providentially on board from Holland (p. 220); the fact being that he means main "beam"; a ship's main "brace" being the rope running from the end of the main yard, by which that is kept trimmed to the wind. He says (p. 225) the common house at Plymouth was burned down, the fact being that the thatch only was burned off, while even "the roof stood and little hurt" (*Mourt*, p. 77). On the same page he not only confuses Cole's Hill with Burial Hill, but inaccurately declares that "where the old Pilgrims landed, may still be seen the flattened hillocks which cover the earthly remains of these sainted dead." He says (p. 227) Brewster was "unwilling to administer the Lord's Supper," the fact being, as it would seem, that he was not averse to doing so, and the company desired it, but Robinson thought it not scripturally warrantable. He says (p. 230) "The daring impetuosity of Standish in marching against them [the Indians] in sanguinary conflict enhanced their danger," the fact being that his daring struck such terror into the savage heart as made him equivalent in their eyes to a small army of white men. He misdates (p. 237) Roger White's letter of 1st Dec. 1625, as being 30th Nov. He

misnumbers and misprints (p. 246) "secondly" for thirdly, in *The Grounds of Settling a Plantation in New England*. He twice confuses Nantasket with Nantucket (p. 253), representing Capt. Squeb as landing his party at the island in Buzzard's Bay instead of on the beach by Point Allerton, and their having "many weary wanderings" [they would have had indeed] to get to Mattapan; while (p. 258) he "sojourns" Ralph Smith "with some straggling people that lived at Nantucket" long before any people except aborigines had "straggled" thither. He represents (p. 258) a correspondence as arising between Endicott, of Salem, and Samuel Fuller, of Plymouth, the fact being simply that Endicott wrote to Gov. Bradford about Fuller. On page 264 he says "New England" where he should say "New Plymouth." On the next page he represents John Winthrop as landing at Salem on the 14th June, 1630, the landing actually taking place on the previous Saturday, the $\frac{12}{25}$ June. He says (p. 270) Francis Higginson died 16th Aug. 1630: Hubbard and Felt say he died 6th Aug. 1630. On the same page he represents the seat of government as having been removed from Charlestown to Boston "in the month of November, 1630"; while the records of the General Court show that the first session of that body was held in Boston on the $\frac{13}{9}$ October of that year. So, on the next page, he represents Wilson as leaving for England in March, 1631; Winthrop in his journal saying that he sailed in April. He says (p. 295) Eusebius Pagitt dissuaded the church in Amsterdam from giving Thomas Hooker a call, etc.; the fact being that Eusebius Pagitt (who seems never to have been in Holland at all) had been dead more than fourteen years at this date, — *John* Paget being the senior pastor of the Amsterdam church to whom Dr. W. refers. He says (p. 322) that "the original notes of an election sermon" preached by Thomas Hooker, 31st May, 1638, are still preserved in the "State Archives, Hartford, Conn.,"; the fact being that the "notes" are in Henry Wolcott's cipher in his "Note Book," which book is in the custody of the Connecticut Historical Society; and it may be added here that in reprinting these notes as they have been deciphered and printed in the *Collections* of that Society (i: 20), Dr. Waddington has impaired their sense by leaving out one sub-head, mis-

numbering another, printing the word "appreciations" where it does not belong, and making another line read "given us *therein* liberty," when it should read "given us them in liberty." He says (p. 325) the Synod of 1637 condemned "eighty-three errors," eighty-two being the real number, and quite enough at that! He prints (p. 352) the "Marquess of *Huntley*," where he means the "Marquess of Hamilton"; and in the same sentence puts *June* 11 as being in 1638-9; such double dating of course rightly applying only to the months of January, February, and March. He says (p. 509) the "*Church* to be held at Cambridge," when he means Synod. He represents a letter (p. 579) as being dated 24th *June*, 1663, and as written by Hooke to *Goffe*, which was really addressed, on 5th March, 1663, by Hooke to John Davenport. He prints (p. 616) John *Richardson*, where he means John Richards; and on the next page copies a letter which that same John Richards wrote to Increase Mather, as if written by *Samuel Baker*.

4. The most conspicuous defect of the book, however, and that one which, were it immaculate in every other respect, would wellnigh destroy its value to the student of the Congregationalism of the past, is the utter and amazing looseness with which it conveys to the reader those documents and those printed extracts, on which Dr. Waddington relies to interest and instruct the intelligent audience which he addresses. It is bad not to be told where in a quarto, or a folio, of some hundreds of pages, one is to look for five or ten lines to which his attention is called, as being specially important; but patience and perseverance will supplement that. It is worse to be left, without the slightest suggestion of help, to flounder through all possible cotemporaneous literature, if haply one may so feel, after some extract, to which neither author's name nor any book or manuscript title has been given, as to find it; but then, if one can be absolutely sure that *somebody* did say *exactly those words* at that date, there will be value even in such anonymous and unassigned utterances and arguments. But it must necessarily be worst of all, if to other elements of incertitude is to be added the fear — and should it amount to a presumption, so much the more unfortunate — that you are so at the mercy of a careless copyist, an unskilled reader of crabbed

and obscure manuscripts, and a general blunderer, as to be prohibited from much reasonable probability that what you are reading in any case fairly represents the old-time author to your eye: this so fatally dilutes all possible remaining value as to condemn such a volume as a mere cumberer of library shelves. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that all this must be pre-eminently true in the case of a history which is avowedly, and of set purpose, so largely "Documentary" as this is. Dr. Waddington's own claim for his work is (p. xii) "to state the principles of the Congregational churches, to give their international history *with correctness*, and to adduce the necessary evidence at every step *in the form that bears on the face of it the impress of authenticity*. The witnesses are allowed to appear in regular succession *in their proper garb, and to speak for themselves in their own manner. It is due to the memory of those men, of whom 'the world was not worthy,' that their words, as well as their noble and heroic deeds, should be recorded.*" This is admirable; but it surely pledges the author in advance to more than the ordinary pains of every respectable writer to deal in the spirit of scrupulous fidelity with all whom he summons to the stand as witnesses. Had he been reasonably faithful to this pledge he would have deserved the gratitude of all whose tastes and occasions lead them over the broad field where he has gleaned.

But Dr. Waddington's volume seems to have fallen into errors of quotation from four causes: (1) There is a want of sufficient care in deciphering some of his originals; (2) in copying from perfectly plain printed pages, he has evidently now and then missed a line or a sentence; (3) his printers appear sometimes to have misread (and so misrepresented) what he wrote, while he has failed to revise their blunder; and (4) he evidently believes in and acts upon a principle of quotation which to all right judgment is vicious, misleading, and wholly indefensible, and whose adoption by any writer should at once throw him out of the company of authors "in good and regular standing."

(1.) As to errors in deciphering his originals a couple of illustrations must suffice. The writer happens to have had copied for him by one of the experts of the British Mu-

seum, the *Harleian MS. No. 7,581*, being *Cartwright's Letter to his sister-in-law Ann Stubbs against Brownism* (from which Dr. Waddington quotes), and by subsequent comparison of the copy with the original, became satisfied of the accuracy of the transcript. A few sentences in parallel columns will serve to show the kind of fidelity with which the book here represents the MS. of the good old Puritan :—

THE MSS. [*Differences marked by Italics.*] DR. W. (21.)

Now therefore consider with yourself if we, as you say, are fallen from the truth, whome have we had to convince us of our apostacy and departure from our God? You have indeed enough that bitterly speak against us, that denounce fearfull judgments upon us; but neither are they mynisters sent unto us, and if they were, yet having no reproofs in their mouthes nor arguments to confute us, their thunderbolts of Judgement and condemnation are like headless arrowes, not taken out of the Lord's quiver, but from their own sides, pricked forth rather from a weak hand of their owne conceyt than shott out from the mighty arme of the Lorde's spirit. [90 lines left out here.] *Secondly, in charging those that have most knowledge to have in this behalfe most synne, either your passionate or partiall affection did overcarry you, and cause you to forget the truth of this point, which I willingly think; or ells your owne heart gave you the checks unto the penne.*

Thus, sister, have I in *true* [*th*] and in desire to do you good, written some answer to your letter, *which I would with great labor have done, had not my daily business taken up some part of my travail that way, and my cousin's sudaine departure unto the countrey caused me to hasten mine answer more than otherwise I would have done, if the conveyance of letters from hence to you ward were not so seldom with any assurance*

You say we are fallen from the truth, whom have we had to convince us of our apostacy and departure from God. You have, indeed, enough of *those who* speak against us, *and* denounce fearful judgments upon us; but they are not ministers sent unto us, and, if they were, yet having no reproofs in their mouths nor arguments to confute us. Their thundering by those judgments and condemnations are like headless arrows, not taken out of the Lord's quiver, but from their own sides, prick from the weak hand of their own conceit, rather than from the mighty *peril* of the Lord. Either your passions or partial affections did overcome you, and cause you to forget the truth on this point, as I willingly think your own heart gave a check to *your* pen.

Thus sister have I, in aim and desire to do you good written some answer to your letter, *which* I protest is in persuasion from the word of God and according to that measure of kindness which it hath pleased the Lord to impart unto me.

and safety. *But whatsoever it is I protest and professe it is in persuasion out of the word which we both professe to be ruled by, according to that measure of knowledge that it hath pleased the Lord to impart unto me.*

And albeit I care not who of your friends and favourers in this cause, examine myne answer, yet would I crave thus much at your hands, that it maye have the first reading in your chamber by yourself, lest the course of your patience and indirect reading which otherwise your self could be content to hold on to the end should by some tempest of spirit be broken off. And if you remember first the common frailty of all mankind, subject to error, and then the weaknesse of your owne sexe, and last of all the small ordinary meanes which you have had at any time of discerning exactly of the truth, it will be a good help unto you of sobriety, according to the measure of the gifts of faith he hath bestowed upon you. It remaineth to desire, that the Lord maye shew mercy unto you in opening the eyes of your understanding, and blessing unto you any good meanes which he disposeth for the bringing you to the kingdom of his dear Sonne, over all the hills and mountains and steppes that either the common frailty of the flesh or any particular malice of Sathan against you may cast in your way.

I care not who of your friends and favorers may examine my answer; yet would I crave this of you, that you have the first reading in your chamber by yourself, lest the cause of your patience and judgment should by some temptation be broken off. If you remember the frailty of all mankind subject to error, then the weakness of yourself, and the small ordinary means you have had of discerning exactly the truth, it will be a good help to you of striving according to the measure of faith the Lord hath bestowed upon you. So desiring that the Lord may indeed open the eyes of your understanding, and bless unto you any good means to bring you into the kingdom of his dear Son, over all the hills and mountains that either the woman's frailty or the malice of Satan may cast in your way.

There is also at hand a copy of *Harleian MS. No. 7,042*, containing the judicial inquiries and proceedings at the time of the "Martin-Mar-Prelate" excitement. Unlike Cartwright's, this original happens to be in a script so remarkably clear and beautiful that with ordinary accuracy in the copyist a mistake would be inexcusable. Without going into detail it will suffice to indicate here a few of the errors and omissions which are to be found in Dr. Waddington's transcripts from this Manuscript.

THE MS. (46.)

Found me guilty in their conscience of such matter, etc.

To whom God hath given so high and soveraigne a power as is able *both* to kill and to quicken, to bring to the gate of death, and to cause to return from thence to the comfort of *lyfe again*, before whom standing thus convict, I am not now to plead, etc.

Which gracious pardon *upon* my knees I *most* humbly crave of your excellent Majestie to grant unto me, *by which speciall favour being raised as from the dead, I promise and vow to leade the rest of my lyfe* in all humble and dutifull obedience unno your Majestie, etc.

DR. W. (56.)

Found me guilty in their *own* conscience of such matters.

To whom God hath given so high and soveraign a power, as is able to kill and to quicken, to bring to the gates of death, and to cause to return from thence to the comfort of life. Again before whom standing thus convicted, I am not now to plead, etc.

Which gracious pardon, on my knees, I humbly crave of your excellent Majesty to grant unto me, in all humble and dutiful obedience unto your Majesty, etc.

Some may say these, and such as these, are small matters. But they are not small, because they wholly destroy the authenticity, and so the trustworthiness, and so the real use and value of the transcript which they vitiate; and they are not small, because they reveal the *modus operandi* of an author, and make you feel that if he fails thus while he is where you can watch his work, he has put it out of your power to have any assurance that he has not failed even more damagingly when he has gone beyond the friendly criticism of your anxious eye.

(2.) As to missing lines and sentences in the transcription of printed authorities, a very few instances will here sample a much larger number which have been noted — omitted words being put into brackets.

p. 193. [They therefore address themselves to your Honors, humbly] praying that your honors will be pleased to grant, etc.

p. 270. Receiving advertisements [by some of the late arrived ships from London and Amsterdam] of some French preparations against us [many of our people brought with us being sick of fevers and the scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage so far] we were forced [to change counsel and] from our present shelter to plant dispersedly, etc.

p. 324. Let us have a care that we do shew ourselves holy in all manner of good conversation, both in private and public [and in all our carriages and conversations, let us have a care to endeavor to be holy as the Lord is]. Let us not give occasion, etc.

p. 363. Can it [therefore] be possible in such a kingdom as our happy Eng-

land is [where there are thousands of small village parishes, (I speak according to the plots of our own latest reformers)] for every parish to furnish an ecclesiastical consistory, etc.

p. 417. It is plain that ordination [therefore presupposeth] *presupposing* an officer constituted, does not constitute, therefore it is not an act of power, but [of] order; therefore [those who have not the power of office may put it forth; therefore] though it be most comely, etc.

p. 432. The odious name of Brownism, together with all their opinions [as they have stated and maintained them] are cast upon them. A man would think, therefore, that it should concern these [those] men [in the account they give of their wayes and practices] to shew the world fully how much they differ from [Brownists] Brownism [if they would have that imputation taken off] and yet [in the enumeration of their wayes and practices] they mention nothing but what is the way and practice of the Brownists in conformity with [us] as fully as theirs.

p. 521. Removing into this country [all these things were laid aside againe, and] a new course of living must be framed unto, etc.

p. 529. We had never so censured him [and therefore he may thank himself, who suffered as an evil-doer in that respect] but the reason wherefore we are loath, etc.

p. 617. Scotland has suffered sore and long, many suffering death [so that the enemy has done his work] there. No assembly meetings. They are broken to pieces [since which they fell upon their work in England]. But oh, their prudence, etc.

p. 634. They have catched W. N. and charged him to be a witness against me [are laying wait for others; few dare own me. Providence seems to make against me] and that which is heaviest of all, it is an occasion of some difference betwixt me and my dear wife, etc.

(3.) There are many errors, which it seems most charitable to presume are printer's misreadings of "copy," uncorrected by the author, which do not amount to palpable *maculae* of the press, such as have been elsewhere noted, but which impair when they do not destroy the sense.

To this theory may be assigned the explanation of such instances as the following:—

THE TRUE READING.

DR. W.'S VERSION.

- p. 17. for the which he is tried to be — for the which he is *bound* to be meet.
meet.
- p. 33. most loving and sober relievers. — most loving and sober *reprovers*.
- p. 161. having beforehand complotted. — having *before been* and complotted.
- p. 165. were carried away in the ship. — were carried away in *their sleep*.
- p. 175. your subordinate civil magistrates. — your subordinate *cure* magistrates.
- p. 187. penitent persons and beleivers. — penitent persons and *beloved*.
- p. 188. in these three particulars. — in these *particularly*.
- p. 193. to have the freedom thereof. — to have the freedom of *the city*.
- p. 202. or what good use have they, etc. — or what *goodness* have they, etc.

- p. 206. except pardon can be obtained. — except *honour in all things, and Him in them*.¹
- p. 207. in his name, whom we will — in his name, *we will also therein*.
also therein honor in all
things and Him in them.
- p. 212. such lively and true expres- — such *lovely* and true expressions.
sions.
- p. 213. and our hearts for each other. — and our *prayers* for each other.
- p. 214. what Luther saw. — what Luther *said*.
- p. 214. to the Christian world. — to the *end of the* world.
- p. 216. to add some further spur of — to add some further spur of provoca-
provocation unto them who tion unto them who *are* already.
run already.
- p. 218. let every man repress in himself. — let every man *express* in himself.
- p. 221. which way soever they turned — which waysoever they turned *the eye*.
their eyes.
- p. 221. little solace or content. — little solace or *comfort*.
- p. 221. represented a wild of savage — represented a *world* of savage hue.
hue.
- p. 221. dangerous shoals and *roaring* — dangerous shoals and breakers.
breakers.
- p. 221. over the vast and furious ocean. — over the vast and *perilous* ocean.
- p. 222. advancement of the Christian — advancement of the Christian faith,
faith, and honor of our king and *moreover* of our king and country.
and country.
- p. 229. enable us with one shoulder, — enable us with *our* shoulder, etc.
etc.
- p. 231. or convenient for Christians, — *inconvenient* for Christians, etc.
etc.
- p. 232. without blame may digress or — without blame may *digest* or differ, etc.
differ, etc.
- p. 249. to wait the providence of God — to wait the *promise* of God.
- p. 250. according to their general — according to their *several* trades.
trades.
- p. 250. by inflicting such punishment, — by inflicting such *penalties*, etc.
etc.
- p. 254. and howsoever your charity, etc. — and *moreover* your charity, etc.
- p. 255. cannot conceive so well of our — cannot conceive so *much* of our way.
way.
- p. 259. spent in praier and teaching. — spent in *praise* and teaching.
- p. 263. men of parts and port in the — men of parts and *post* in the place.
place.
- p. 267. he stays but till He hath — he stays *not* till He hath purged, etc.
purged, etc.
- p. 307. and that seeing now God hath, — and that *verily* now God hath, etc.
etc.
- p. 322. more ready to yield obedience, — more ready to yield *acquiescence*, etc.
etc.

¹ This and the next succeeding, both in the *Seven Articles of the Church at Leyden*, seem to have got mixed.

- p. 323. give us them in liberty. — give us *therein* liberty.
- p. 329. here are men *and women* who — here are men who have been, etc.
have been, etc.
- p. 329. the echoes of these hills *and* — the echoes of these hills are awakened.
waters are awakened.
- p. 363. part of the frame prescribed, — part of the *prayer* prescribed, etc.
etc.
- p. 369. you desire nothing, etc. — *we* desire nothing, etc.
- p. 370. and so praying, etc., we cease. — and so praying, etc., we *crove*.
- p. 373. inviolable prerogative, etc., — *invaluable* prerogative, etc., *was* for
serves for nothing, etc. nothing, etc.
- p. 373. entices and woos, etc., she — entices and *proves*, etc., she charges
charges and adjures. and *abjures*.
- p. 374. God's ministers to mankind. — God's *mercies* to mankind.
- p. 374. such an eye as struck Gehazi — such an eye as *shook* Gehazi with the
with the leprosy, and Simon leprosy, and Simon Magus
Magus with a curse. with a curse.
- p. 375. the gentle west winds shall — the *gentler* winds shall open.
open.
- p. 394. the appeal lies principally, etc. — the appeal *has* principally, etc.
- p. 414. or institute no new church, etc. — or *constitute* no new church, etc.
- p. 415. all churches *in such matters* — all churches were ordered by the same
were ordered by the same rule, etc. rule, etc.
- p. 416. so far as by free consent their — so far as by free consent, *then*, com-
combination goes, etc. bination goes, etc.
- p. 417. ordination, therefore, presup- — ordination *presupposing*, etc.
poseth, etc.
- p. 417. they dispense it immediately, — they dispense it immediately, *and he*
she by them mediately. by them mediately.
- p. 429. we have this sincere profession, — we have this *since our* profession, etc.
etc.
- p. 429. never work in any of us, etc. — never work *many* of us, etc.
- p. 429. churches erected by the Apost- — churches *enacted* by the Apostles.
tles.
- p. 429. to judge them anti-christian. — to judge them *unchristian*.
- p. 429. to make the man of God perfect, — to make the *mind* of God perfect, etc.
etc.
- p. 429. mere circumstances we except. — *new* circumstances we except.
- p. 330. and indeed such and no other, — and indeed such *another*, etc.
etc.
- p. 432. They grievously complain, etc. — They *generally* complain, etc.
- p. 509. sought for *by* all that went under — sought for all that went under the
the name of Independ- name of Independents, etc.
dents, etc.
- p. 512. Mark the upright man, etc. — Mark the *perfect* man, etc.
- p. 513. our loss is great and bitter, etc. — our loss is *exceeding* great and bitter,
etc.
- p. 513. strikes me in this special man- — strikes me in a special manner.
ner.
- p. 513. we wait for that blessed hour. — we wait for that blessed *hope*.

- p. 513. if it had not been for this rea- — if it had not been for this *occasion*.
son, etc.
- p. 513. being unfit to write, etc. — *because* unfit to write, etc.
- p. 513. get it written out fair, etc. — get it written *on so far*, etc.
- p. 513. should not be readie before — should not be *made* before winter, etc.
winter, etc.
- p. 514. and inscribe them in, etc. — and *transcribe* them in, etc.
- p. 521. amongst the midst of his friends, — *in* the midst of his friends, etc.
etc.
- p. 521. living many times without bread — *being* many times without bread or
or corn, etc. corn, etc.
- p. 522. yea, till within five or six years, — *until* five or six years, etc.
etc.
- p. 522. in ripping up the heart and con- — *in bringing* up the heart and conscience.
science, etc.
- p. 579. in city and country. — in city and *county*.
- p. 616. their ministers prosecuted with — their ministers *are much* persecuted with
much violence on the Act of much violence on the *account*
£40 per month, and other of £40 per month, and other
Acts. *accounts*.
- p. 635. work on one side. — work on *our* side.
- p. 676. But their pastors ought to have, — But *that* pastors ought to have, etc.
etc.

(4.) Much worse than this, however, Dr. Waddington evidently believes that it is quite right for an author who is perpetually citing authorities, and who claims to do so with unusual care, to condense, modify, and garble the form of their testimony to suit his own convenience or caprice, without his giving to his readers the slightest intimation that he purposes to do this, or that, in point of fact, he ever has done it, in any single given instance. It has already been intimated that such a canon of authorship ought to exclude the person who may adopt it from good and regular standing among writers. The ethics of the subject are well settled, and they demand of every honorable man the most implicit conformity. So far, indeed, as the mere fact of vague and general indebtedness to others may be concerned, and the degree to which that indebtedness should be avowed, there may be varieties of judgment, as there undeniably is diversity of reputable practice. But was it ever known that difference of opinion exists as to the rule that he who announces that he is adopting another's words, and who assumes to aid the eye to comprehend the exact particulars by putting his quotation between inverted commas, or into smaller type, or in

both ways, is bound to quote his authorities as correctly as he can; if he make omissions, is under obligation to intimate the fact by the use of asterisks, or some equivalent method; and has no more business to condense and rewrite his authority, while still claiming it as being in its original form, by keeping it to the ordinary seeming of a quotation, than he has to steal the whole and incorporate it with his own lucubrations without any acknowledgment at all?

Attention has already been directed to the fact that Dr. Waddington, in his preface, distinctly claims to let his witnesses "speak for themselves in their own manner." He even goes so far (xv) as to anticipate that complaint may be made because "the documents are cited in their original form, and at too great length," and replies to that objection by pleading that "they are so exhibited *for the sake of exact truth, and to avoid a colouring that would be deceptive.*" After this, and the more in the absence of any subsequent hint that this rule, for any reason or under any circumstances, has ever been departed from, his readers surely have a right to expect that so far as his extracts may go, they are as thoroughly sure of getting from his pages the *ipsissimis verbis* of all authors whom he cites, as they would be from the books or manuscripts which at first hand brought those authors into contact with the reading world. Dr. Waddington confesses beforehand possible "blemishes of style" and "lack of skill in the arrangement," and fancies that to have cast the whole in "a more ornate form" might have promoted the "immediate success" of his labors; but he has nowhere so much as suggested any plea for the least departure from common fidelity to those whose opinions he undertakes to set forth, or intimated any intention of editing them into his narrative.

It is pertinent now to examine his practice in this regard. Take one of the instances which first comes up, where he quotes a few sentences from the *Epitome* of Martin Mar Prelate, of which a copy of the original edition of 1589 happens to be available for comparison:—

MARTIN (p. iiii).

My mind towards you you shall from
time to time understand *by my pistles.*

[43 printed lines left out.]

DR. W. (p. 41).

My mind toward you, you shall from
time to time understand.

It will be but follie for you to persecute the Courtier Martin, untill you have cleared your selves (which you can never do) of the crimes he hath layd to your charge. Alas! poore bishops, you would faine be hidden in a net I perceive. *I will grow to a point with you.* Have but a free disputation with the Puritans, etc.

It will be but folly for you to persecute the courtier, Martin, until you have cleared yourselves (which you can never do) of the crimes he hath laid to your charge. Alas! poor bishops, you would fain be hidden in a net, I perceive. Have but a free disputation with the Puritans, etc.

Here, within exactly one inch's measurement of the type of Dr. Waddington's extract from Martin, occur two lesser omissions,—one of three words and one of eight,—besides the huge one of forty-three lines (amounting to the value of an entire page of small size black letter), and all, as the reader can see, without notice of any break whatever in the continuity of thought or language.

A little further on (p. 72) occurs a like case of the omission of nearly the same amount of matter from an extract from Penry's *History of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram*. On page 120 we get the same thing on a much smaller scale, where the omission of a single word wholly changes the sense. He is translating from one of Francis Junius's letters to the Brownists at Amsterdam, and he makes it read, "If wrong be done in England, yet this injury hath ceased," etc.; but Junius wrote, "*Si in Anglia vobis facta est injuria,*" etc. (*Epistolæ*, etc., p. 71.)

Take the following from Henry Jacob's *Attestation*, etc.:—

JACOB (162).

For as it is absolutely necessary that a true minister of the Gospel have his calling given [him outwardly from some persons, and that these persons have good and just authoritie to give it: so likewise, it is absolutely necessarie that every true minister of the Gospel have his calling given him] by those who are by Christ himself, or by His Holy Spirit in the Apostles authorized to give it.

DR. W. (183).

For as it is absolutely necessary that a true minister of the gospel have his calling given by those who are by Christ Himself (or by his Holy Spirit in the Apostles) authorized to give it.

Here one main point of the argument is quietly left out, and the reader is expected to suppose that the enfeebled

sentence came from Henry Jacob. The same thing in regard to the same author — sometimes in a worse degree and sometimes in one not quite so bad — occurs twelve times within three pages, in one instance sixty-four lines being thus ignored.

One of the scarcest printed books from which Dr. Waddington makes extended quotation is the *Retractation* of John Smyth, of which, in fact, the copy in the Minster Library, at York, has been thought to be unique, and with this he takes great liberties. In some three pages of extracts (pp. 187-190), besides a variety of minor errors, he omits in two instances eight lines, in another twenty, in another twenty-eight, in another thirty-one, in another forty-two, in another sixty, and in still another sixty-six, — always without notice to the reader, and twice he so joins the fragments together that only a comma lies between the *dissecta membra*.

It will suggest the amount of this kind of offence against the proprieties of literature which the book contains, if it be further stated that, in addition to omissions of words and brief phrases, in instances so numerous that no attempt has been made to count them, the following grosser exclusions have been noticed in an examination of less than half of the quotations which are contained in the volume, viz. on p. 220, one of thirty-four lines; p. 229, of thirty-two; p. 232, of eighteen; p. 233, of eight; p. 234, of six; p. 238, of nine; p. 246, of twenty-seven; p. 250, of nine; p. 251, of eleven; p. 257, one of seventeen and another of six; p. 266, one of two; p. 271, of eleven; p. 394, of twelve; p. 414, of four; p. 415, of twenty-three; p. 528, of twenty-two; p. 579, of thirty-eight; p. 580, of six, and p. 617, of eighteen.

Perhaps the longest stride is taken (p. 393) in copying from Catharine Chidley's *Justification of the Independent Churches of Christ*, where two paragraphs which are made to follow each other as naturally and innocently as if the second had come wet from the author's pen before the first had begun to dry, the investigating reader will find to have been (not perfectly) copied, the first from the 34th and the second from the 59th page of the original quarto, with twenty-four solid pages of type between them.

One or two examples will illustrate with what ill success this work of emendation—if it be intended for that—has been accomplished, and how much better the author is himself than as rewritten by Dr. W. He quotes in one case from *Bacon's Historical Discourses* (of course without saying so) with the following result :

DR. BACON'S DAVENPORT (p. 20).

Davenport warned the people] not to be rash or slight in giving their votes to things they understood not, but without respect to men, *as they should be satisfied and persuaded in their own minds*, to give their answers in such sort as they would be willing they should stand upon record for posterity, etc.

DR. W.'S DAVENPORT (p. 330).

[Davenport warned the people] not to be rash or slight in giving their votes to things they *did not understand*, but to digest thoroughly and without respect to men, *what should be proposed to them, giving such answers* as they should be willing should stand upon record for posterity.

This is the way in which he mangles an extract from Bishop Hall's *Humble Remonstrance*:—

BISHOP HALL (p. 10).

Part of the frame prescribed by our Saviour, was composed of the formes of devotion then formerly usuall; and God's people ever since Moses his daies, constantly practiced it; and put it over unto the times of the Gospel; under which *whiles* it is said that Peter and John went up to the Temple at the ninth houre of prayer, we know the prayer wherewith they joyned was not of an extemporary and sudden conception, *but of a regular prescription*; the formes whereof are yet extant and ready to be produced, etc.

DR. W. (p. 363).

Part of the *prayer* prescribed by our Saviour, was composed of the forms of devotion then formerly *used*. And God's people ever since Moses his days, constantly practised it, and put it over unto the times of the Gospel under which it is said that Peter and John *who* went up to the Temple at the ninth hour of prayer. We know the prayer wherewith they joined was not of an extemporary and sudden conception, the *former* whereof are yet extant and ready to be produced, etc.

As the reproduction stands, what with the change of important words, the introduction of a total break in the sense by a period where there is none in the original, and the general muddle of what follows, for pure nonsense this would be hard to be exceeded.

Dr. Waddington has sometimes carried this freedom with his author so far as to skip backwards and forwards, without any

reason that suggests itself other than his own fancy, so that the reader who undertakes to follow his citations finds the greatest difficulty in doing so, and the result becomes a very curious jumble. For example, he devotes two pages and a half (174-176) to a succession of extracts from that copy of the *Petition for Toleration*, credited to Henry Jacob, which is in the Lambeth Library, and which bears the marginal MS. annotations of King James the First; throwing these *marginalia* into the text as if constituting a dialogue between his Majesty and the petitioners, and apparently a continuous one in the order set down — no page references being given. The whole extract amounts to ninety-three lines. Of these the first seventeen are from p. 14 of the original; the next nine from the previous page (13); the next nine from p. 6 (*forty-three* lines, however, being omitted between the first line and the second, without so much as a comma as a funeral monument over them; and five lines more between the fifth and sixth); the next nineteen are from p. 7 (with two lines out between the sixth and seventh); the next twelve are from p. 13 again; and the last twenty-seven are from p. 41 (with four cases of the omission of from one to seven words each).

In one instance (p. 416) he appears to have condensed twenty-four of Thomas Hooker's quarto pages (*Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*) into the three lines following, which he credits to p. 204, and which we quote exactly as he gives them. He says:—

"On the subject of Ecclesiastical Power Hooker says: 'The *Power of the Keys* is given to the people: the power of the keys doth not make a pastor; the power of the keys is of larger extent than the power of office.'"

One would of course expect on turning to p. 204 of Hooker's treatise to come upon this exact language; but there is no such sentence on that page, none, it is believed, in the whole volume; but this is Dr. Waddington's epitomizing, credited to the old Hartford divine.

On page 414, the reader is directed to a paragraph with regard to the practical design of the Christian Church, from John Owen. Though uncredited, it is from his *Inquiry into the original, etc., of Evang. Churches, etc.* It consists of thirteen lines.

Of these the first two are from p. 302 of that treatise, as printed in the xvth volume of Owen's works; the next five from p. 306; the next two from p. 307; the next is not Owen's; a part of the next is from p. 308, and the remainder appears to be a condensation of a few pages of Owen's argument: at any rate it has not been identified in the verbal form in which it is here given.

But for detailed criticism this must suffice. The reader's patience will have been overtaxed, although the list of various inaccuracies which have been noted in those portions of the volume which have been carefully examined, has not been exhausted. It remains:

5. To glance briefly at the general scope of the work, and the relation of its performance to that public need and expectation which it was intended, or was supposed to be intended, to supply. We take it for granted that students of Puritan History, who have desired to go behind the valuable but crude, incomplete, and necessarily unsatisfying volumes of Neal and Brook and Wilson and Crosby, and others who have mainly been content with repeating them rather than reinforcing them by original research; and those, especially, who have wanted more light upon the exact particulars of the divergence of Separatism from Puritanism; have been looking to Dr. Waddington to supply their need. They have known his tastes and opportunities, and they have waited for this issue — covering the years of intensest interest to them — to aid them by exhaustive research, clear and just generalization, and apt and accurate statement, to understand minutely and completely that struggle and onward march of ideas out of which modern Congregationalism in religion, and Democratic Republicanism in civil things, began to be. In the first volume Dr. Waddington had announced that his intention was to write the history of "the development of the principles denominated Congregational." In the preface of the present he says that he proceeds "to exhibit the origin, growth, and influence of Congregational Churches, from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Revolution of 1688." A generation has passed since the venerable Hanbury — senior deacon of the church in Southwark to which Dr. Waddington for many years ministered — made to the reading

world the inestimable contribution of his *Historical Memorials, relating to the Independents, etc.*, in three solid octavos, into which he had gathered the substance of the many volumes of the fathers with a patience, an extended research, and an accuracy of treatment which left little in that direction to be desired. It seemed to remain for Dr. Waddington to glean whatever additional treasures the State Paper office and the great libraries might contain, and then to digest and classify the whole, so that, as upon the stepping-stones of his developments of great facts and principles, one might easily pass through the wilderness of related literature straight to the goal of some just conclusion.

It may readily be inferred from what has been developed as to the general character of the book, that to look for anything like this from the mind capable of such and so many inaccuracies, is a vain thing. Fidelity to particulars must ever be the first step towards safety in generalization; and where habitual confusion presides over details, it must be useless to expect order and truth and sound philosophy as the result of all.

That there is progress along these pages is not to be denied; that a great many valuable documents and volumes have been consulted in their composition, and that many good words and grand thoughts, and some stirring incidents have filtered from them into the book, ought surely to be conceded; but that the writer has succeeded in aiding his readers to any clear idea, either of the growth of Congregational principles, the consecutive planting of Congregational churches, or the precise relation of the men successively prominent in the movement to the several stages of the development of the new polity and practice, is not apparent. The author's own mind would seem to have been in some degree of chronic confusion, and to have lost the faculty of crystallizing his thoughts into distinctness of form, justness of hypothesis, and energy of onward statement.

In his preface (p. viii) he speaks of a company of four pioneers—who were liberated from the London prisons to be banished as colonists to Newfoundland, compelled to return, and found refuge in Holland—as though they furnished the nucleus of the first Congregational Church in the Low Countries. But

this liberation, as he subsequently adds (p. 115), was in the spring of 1597, and the two Johnsons, with Studley and Clark, did not reach Holland until the autumn of that year; while nothing can be more certain than that there was a separate church existent in Amsterdam, which in the previous year (1596) had printed *A True Confession of the Faith and Humble Acknowledgement of the Allegiance which wee, hir Majesties Subjects falsely called Brownists, doe hould, etc.*; and Dr. Waddington afterwards says himself (p. 104) that "the members of the church in Southwark, who had the opportunity, went to Amsterdam in 1593. This church, which seems to date back to some time in 1586, and from which issued, in 1589, *A True Description out of the Word God of the visible Church*,¹ he evidently regards as the earliest instance of a church organized on Congregational principles in modern times which succeeded in gaining continuity and history. But George Johnson, writing in Amsterdam, while a member of this church, repeatedly refers to the church at Norwich as "an elder sister."² And it may be here remarked as singular, that Dr. Waddington, although his special object in this volume is to exhibit the "origin, growth, and influence of Congregational churches," seems to make no reference whatever to this Norwich church. George Johnson says that "Mr. Hunt" was its pastor,³ he further implies that Daniel Studley had been a member of it,⁴ and the following passage will indicate something of his idea of the feeling existing between the two churches about the beginning of the seventeenth century. He says:—

"The pastor [Francis Johnson], Daniel Studley, and the rest, like not to heare a church should be established at London [none seems yet to have taken there the place left vacant by their removal]; or that the church of Norwich encrease; they would have al to come to them, to fill up their number, to encrease their contributions. Witness the one, their continual disgracing of the pastor [Mr. Hunt], and church at Norwich, and the drawing of people from thence unto

¹ Although a copy of this is in the British Museum, and although Hanbury (i, p. 28) prints largely from the venerable classic, Dr. Waddington makes no reference to it, but quotes (apparently) imperfect portions of it, as from "a remarkable paper, preserved in the State Records." (p. 32.)

² *Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications*, etc., pp. 44, 205, 206.

³ *Ibid.* p. 205.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 205.

them. Witness the other, their dealing about the people at London, who would have had Mr. Cr. their teacher, but by their devices they made a iarre betweene the people and him, whereupon he stumbled and fell. The Lord give him repentance, if not, as at his, so at their, hands wil his blood be required ; they having by their dealing driven him away."¹

George Johnson speaks again of another church having collateral existence — at Chatsam[Chatham ?]² — of which Dr. Waddington makes no mention. Many would have been grateful, also, to Dr. W., if he had thrown some light upon the reasons and the period of the stay of the London church, while it was *en route* for Amsterdam, at Naarden ; where there is evidence that its poor members received some "benevolence" from the magistrates.³

So copious have been Dr. Waddington's citations from the early literature of modern Congregationalism, and the struggle out of which it was evolved, that one wonders how he has happened still to pass by so many of its classics in silence. He quotes an unimportant sentence (p. 23) from Robert Harrison, — Browne's first and chief colleague, — but makes no reference to his *Little Treatise upon the First Verse of the 122 Psalm — stirring up unto careful desiring and dutifull laboring for the True Church Government* (1583) which is at least noteworthy as showing [pp. 111, 112] a degree of charity towards the Church of England for which the earliest Brownists get no credit. So he makes no allusion to that *Fruitfull Sermon upon the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 verses of the xii chapter of Paule to the Romanes*, which Waldegrave printed in 1584, and again in 1586, and which is especially noticeable for the clearness with which it defines, and discriminates between, the various offices in the local church ; and none to Edward Glover and his books, or to Stephen Bredwell's replies to the same. His references to the Martin Mar-Prelate controversy are very meagre, and he does not allude to some of the most important of that series of extraordinary pamphlets. It seems a little remarkable also that in his account of the trial and tragic end of Barrow and Greenwood he should not have availed himself of that *Collection of*

¹ *Ibid.* p. 44.

² *Ibid.* p. 205.

³ *Ibid.* p. 151 ; White's *Discovery of Brownism*, p. 15 ; *The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists*, p. 27 ; Francis Johnson's *Answer to White*, p. 15.

Certain Letters and Conferences lately passed Betwixt Certain Preachers & Two Prisoners in the Fleet, which, in the mid-summer of 1590, Robert Stokes caused to be printed at Dort, and a couple of hundred of which he smuggled over to England in his "cloak-bag," for cautious circulation;¹ which Dr. W. would have found at Lambeth, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. The two books of which John Greenwood was sole author—one of which reached two editions in its first year—are not considered. So neither are Richard Clyfton's two. Nor does he refer to John Smyth's *Paralleles: Censures: Observations* (1609), from which (p. 54) he might have quoted the following passage, which reappeared years after, almost word for word, in New England:—

"You are to remember that Christ's church in several respects is a Monarchie, an Aristocratie, a Democratie. In respect of Christ the King it is a Monarchy; of the Eldership an Aristocratie; of the brethren joyntly a Democratie or Popular government."

The strangest of these omissions, however, is that of all citation of, and reference to, the great works of John Robinson. Robinson himself is spoken of, and with just eulogy, many times. But his *Justification of Separation from the Church of England*, his *Just and Necessary Apology of Certain Christians no less contumeliously than commonly called Brownists or Barrowists*, his discussion *Of Religious Communion, Private and Public*, his *People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy*, and his *Treatise on the Lawfulness of Hearing Ministers in the Church of England*, are not alluded to as having any the least influence upon the struggle in which it has been usual to suppose they bore an influential, and in some respects decisive, part. The Dutch theologians of his day valued the stroke of his sword of logic in their controversy with the Arminians,² and the bitter, though well-read Baylie, declared him to be "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit" that ever Brownism enjoyed.³

¹ *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii, 166.

² Hoornbeek says of him [*Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, etc., p. 741], "Vir ille gratus nostris, dum vixit, fuit, et Theologis Leidensibus familiaris ac honoratus. *Apologiam* edidit suo, et Ecclesiæ suæ nomine a 1619, quæ legitur Latine, et Anglice recusa pridem a 1644, digna quæ a Theologis omnibus serio expendatur. . . . Scripsit preterea varia contra Arminianos; frequens quippe et acer erat Episcopii in Academia adversarius et opponens."

³ *A Dissuasive From the errors of The Time*, etc. (1645), p. 17.

And this suggests the single further remark with which this too extended notice shall be concluded: that Dr. Waddington leaves a grand subject still waiting for its just interpreter to the thought of the future; some scholar who, somewhat after the same fashion in which Mr. John Hunt has outlined *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the end of Last Century*, but with a warmer heart and a more glowing pencil, shall begin with the England of 1496, when John Colet commenced his lectures at Oxford on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and sketch step by step that progress of doctrinal opinion and spiritual conviction and religious life which has changed that time of practical paganism and mental stupor and social rudeness and political oppression, into the England and America — with all their defects, great, glorious, and free — of our own favored time. When that book comes to be written which shall justly discriminate between, and fairly trace back to their original sources, those important, seminal, advancing ideas, which, adding each its own specialty, have combined together to accomplish, under God, this stupendous result; there are those who think that the whole world, being convinced of its debt, will take the pious pains and pleasure to go back to search out from their obscurity some of these old Brownist martyrs whom their generation despised, that it may lift them to an honored niche in the temple of its enduring and grateful fame. It would have added greatly to the debt which all who love good letters will feel that they owe to Dr. Waddington's intent of usefulness in this extended history, if they could have felt that on account of his volumes it will be easier for all the literary men of the future to grasp and comprehend this march of great ideas, and to assign each to the mind unto which by the Divine Spirit it was first revealed.

HENRY M. DEXTER.

Greystone's, New Bedford, Ms.

THE BROOKLYN COUNCIL OF 1874.¹

A COUNCIL of Churches and Ministers assembled at the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church in Brooklyn, N. Y., at 7 P. M. Tuesday, March 24, 1874, and was in session, with appropriate recesses, from that time until 12.15 A. M., Sunday, March 29, 1874. This volume is the record of matters upon which the Council was called and acted, and the phonographic report of the proceedings, carefully revised, at the public sessions, which continued from the beginning until 12 M., March 26; and from 11.45 P. M., March 28, to the time of final adjournment. It also contains the action of the two churches which called the Council, at church meetings held April 3, 1874. It is an accurate and comprehensive memorial, and in its preparation and style of issue reflects credit upon those who have had to do with its publication. We purpose to make from its pages, for the *Quarterly*, such a *resumé* of its contents as may, within our necessary limits, conserve the grave features of the notable ecclesiastical assembly of which it treats.

The Council convened in response to the following Letter-Missive, which, by our usage, so far as the subject-matter before the Council was concerned, was the organic law of the body :

BROOKLYN, N. Y., March 9, 1874.

To the.....Church,

in.....

The Church of the Pilgrims, and the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, SEND GREETING :

DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST :

Since November last we have been in correspondence, through our Pastors and Special Committees, with the Plymouth Church in this city, on certain questions of church discipline, and of the proper fellowship of Congregational Churches.

¹ THE BROOKLYN COUNCIL OF 1874, Letter-Missive, Statement and Documents, together with an Official Phonographic Report of the Proceedings, and the Result of Council. New York : Woolworth, Ainsworth and Company. 1874. pp. 241.

The occasion of this correspondence, with our letters, and the letters and resolutions of the Plymouth Church in reply, will be found fully spread forth in the documents accompanying this Letter-Missive, and in the explanatory Statement, prepared, at our request, by our Committees.

We have now reached a point where we feel ourselves to need, and at liberty to seek, the aid of the wisdom of other churches; that we may know how far what we have done is approved by them, and what course we should properly follow in the future.

We have desired and, as our letters will show, have earnestly sought, that all the questions at issue between us, on the one hand, and the Plymouth Church on the other, should be submitted, by that church as by us, to a Council chosen in common.

We have not been able to obtain from that church a decisive answer, either in the affirmative or in the negative, to this request; and the further protracting of our correspondence appears to us inexpedient — in view of the delays connected with it, of its comparative fruitlessness hitherto, and of the mutually suspicious and hostile feeling which it has shown itself liable to excite.

We therefore wholly lay aside any effort to secure a Council which should have it for a part of its function to advise that church, after due inquiry, as to the regularity of its past proceedings, or the proper course to be pursued by it in future; and we now confine ourselves to asking a Council to advise *us*, in regard to matters which have come before us in connection with this correspondence, and which to us appear of grave importance.

We especially ask the testimony and advice of our sister churches, and of eminent divines, on the points presented in the following questions, to wit: —

First. — Is it in accordance with the order and usage of Congregationalism that a member may terminate his membership in a church by absenting himself from its services and communion? or is a corporate and consenting action on the part of the church necessary to such termination of membership?

Second. — During the voluntary absence of a member from the ordinances, if specific charges, of grossly unchristian conduct, are presented against him, by a brother in the church, — to which charges he declines to answer, — is it in accordance with the order and usage of Congregationalism that the church shall withhold inquiry as to the alleged wickedness, and, in face of such public assertion of his offences, shall treat him as if still unaccused, dropping his name from its roll "without reflection upon him"?

Third. — When such a member is charged with having "circulated and promoted scandals, derogatory to the Christian integrity of the pastor, and injurious to the reputation of the church," if he be publicly released, by the church which he confronts, without examination of the facts, and without censure, from all further responsibility to it, has the rule of Christ in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, concerning the treatment of

the trespassing brother, as commonly administered in Congregational Churches, been maintained? or it is distinctly disregarded, in a case which called for its careful observance?

Fourth.— Was the action of the Plymouth Church, in the case of discipline issued by it October 31, 1873, as presented in the published documents, in accordance with the order and usage of Congregational Churches? or was it an apparent departure from these, tending, in the circumstances, to injure and offend other churches in fellowship, and warranting apprehension and remonstrance on our part?

Fifth.— In view of the aforesaid action of Plymouth Church, and of the fact that this is maintained as in accordance with its customary policy, what is the duty, concerning that church, of the churches calling this Council? Especially, what is their duty in regard to continuing in their fellowship with it?

Sixth.— In view of the Resolution adopted by the Plymouth Church, December 5, 1873, in which its rules are interpreted, publicly, and with authority, "as relieving all other churches from responsibility for the Doctrine, Order, and Discipline of this church, and this church from all responsibility for those of other churches," what is the duty concerning that church, of the churches calling this Council? Especially, what action, if any, should they take to release themselves from the mutually responsible connection with it, in which they have stood before the Christian public?

Seventh.— Have the churches calling this Council acted, in its judgment, in substantial accordance with the principles of Congregationalism, as set forth in our authorized Platforms of Polity, in the remonstrances and requests addressed by them to the Plymouth Church? or in what respect, if in any, have they erred towards that church, and departed from these principles, in the representations which they have made to it?

We ask you, dear brethren, to meet in Council, by your Pastor and Delegate, at the Clinton Avenue Church in this city, on the 24th of March, 1874, at 7 P. M., to consider these questions, or such of them as the Council may deem it wise to consider, and give us the light of your wisdom upon them.

We purpose to notify the Plymouth Church of our action in the premises, and to convey to them our desire and hope that they will be present with us at the sessions of the Council, by their Pastor and a Committee, to correct any statements of fact which may seem to them erroneous, and to furnish any further and special information which the Council may request.

But it is to be expressly understood that the Council is called to advise us and not them; that we propose no investigation into the truth or falsehood of any charges which have been made against any of their members; and that, so far as we are concerned, only the public proceedings of that church, concerning which, as matters of fact, there seems room for no doubt, will come within your cognizance.

We wish to know, simply, if our recent action towards that church, when

the reasons for it are fully explained, is deemed to have been proper ; and how, in the judgment of sister churches, we should order ourselves concerning it hereafter.

And we pray for a Result which may be for the good of all our churches ; admonishing us, if we are deemed to have acted wrongly ; guiding us aright, if we are found in error on the questions proposed ; but vindicating the polity which is consecrated to us by both memories and hopes, for which we have faithfully labored in the past, which has seemed to us to be intimately connected with the Christian progress of our country, and to which, as understood by us, we continue as ever earnestly attached.

Wishing you grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, we are, dear brethren, affectionately yours, in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel : —

For the Church of the Pilgrims : For Clinton Avenue Congregational Church :

RICHARD S. STORRS, *Pastor*,
RICHARD P. BUCK,
ARCHIBALD BAXTER,
DWIGHT JOHNSON,
JOSHUA M. VAN COTT,
ELI MYGATT, JR.,
WALTER T. HATCH,
LUCIEN BIRDSEYE,

WM. IVES BUDINGTON, *Pastor*,
ALFRED S. BARNES,
JAMES W. ELWELL,
HARVEY B. SPELMAN,
THOMAS S. THORP,
AUGUSTUS F. LIBBY,
FLAMEN B. CANDLER,
CALVIN C. WOOLWORTH,

Committee.

Committee.

The Council was called in accordance with the following extract from the "Government and Communion," practised by our "churches in the United States of America, represented by their elders and messengers in National Council at Boston, in 1865."

When difficulties, whether internal or external, threaten the peace and spiritual prosperity of any church, and are not likely to be adjusted without aid, or when any question arises on which the church needs advice, for the guidance and correction, or confirmation, of its own judgment, that church has a right to ask the advice of other churches with which it is in communion. *Platform*, p. 52.

Seventy-nine churches and seventeen ministers were invited to sit in Council. Seventy-six churches accepted the invitation, and appointed delegates, with the pastors (three churches, declining to be represented, were the First Church at Stamford, Conn., and the Plymouth and Union Park Churches in Chicago, Ill.), and seventy-five churches

were represented in the Council. Of the seventeen ministers invited, ten were present and participated in the doings of the Council. The Roll of the Council was finally made up, as follows :—

- The First Church, Brunswick, Me.,* Rev. E. H. Byington, *Pastor.*
The Second Parish Church, Portland, Me., Rev. J. M. Palmer, *Delegate.*
High Street Church, Portland, Me., Bro. J. M. Libby, *Delegate.*
State Street Church, Portland, Me., Rev. E. Y. Hincks, *Pastor*; Bro. T. R. Hayes, *Delegate.*
Winter Street Church, Bath, Me., Rev. J. Fiske, D. D., *Pastor.*
Central Church, Bangor, Me., Bro. J. S. Wheelwright, *Delegate.*
Bangor, Me., Rev. W. M. Barbour, D. D.
First Church, Portsmouth, N. H., Rev. Carlos Martyn, *Pastor*; Bro. J. S. Rand, *Delegate.*
South Church, Concord, N. H., Rev. S. L. Blake, *Pastor*; Bro. J. McQuestion, *Delegate.*
Franklin Street Church, Manchester, N. H., Rev. W. J. Tucker, *Pastor*; Bro. A. H. Daniels, *Delegate.*
First Church, Rutland, Vt., Rev. J. G. Johnson, *Pastor.*
First Church, Burlington, Vt., Rev. L. O. Brastow, *Pastor.*
First Church, Montpelier, Vt., Rev. W. H. Lord, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. J. C. Emery, *Delegate.*
Second Church, St. Johnsbury, Vt., Rev. C. M. Southgate, *Pastor*; Bro. C. M. Stone, *Delegate.*
First Church, Cambridge, Mass., Rev. A. McKenzie, *Pastor.*
Old South Church, Boston, Mass., Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. Avery Plumer, *Delegate.*
Union Church, Boston, Mass., Rev. H. M. Parsons, *Associate Pastor*; Bro. A. Kingman, *Delegate.*
Phillips Church, Boston, Mass., Bro. Choate Burnham, *Delegate.*
Eliot Church, Boston, Mass., Rev. A. C. Thompson, D. D., *Senior Pastor*; Bro. J. Russell Bradford, *Delegate.*
Central Church, Boston, Mass., Rev. John De Witt, *Pastor*; Bro. T. H. Russell, *Delegate.*
Shawmut Church, Boston, Mass., Rev. E. B. Webb, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. Charles Demond, *Delegate.*
First Church, Northampton, Mass., Rev. W. S. Leavitt, *Pastor*; Bro. S. T. Spaulding, *Delegate.*
Edwards Church, Northampton, Mass., Rev. Gordon Hall, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. W. H. Stoddard, *Delegate.*
First Church, Westfield, Mass., Rev. A. J. Titsworth, *Pastor.*
First Church, Pittsfield, Mass., Rev. E. O. Bartlett, *Pastor*; Bro. Thomas Colt, *Delegate.*
North Church, New Bedford, Mass., Rev. A. H. Quint, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. J. Hastings, *Delegate.*

Calvinist Church, Worcester, Mass., Bro. Henry M. Wheeler, *Delegate*.
Union Church, Worcester, Mass., Rev. E. Cutler, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. P. L. Moen, *Delegate*.

College Church, Amherst, Mass., Rev. W. A. Stearns, D. D., *Pastor*; Rev. W. S. Tyler, D. D., *Delegate*.

First Church, Cambridgeport, Mass., Rev. W. S. Karr, *Pastor*; Rev. C. Cushing, D. D., *Delegate*.

South Church, Springfield, Mass., Rev. S. G. Buckingham, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. D. L. Harris, *Delegate*.

North Church, Springfield, Mass., Rev. R. G. Greene, *Pastor*; Bro. T. M. Brown, *Delegate*.

High Street Church, Lowell, Mass., Rev. Owen Street, *Pastor*; Bro. Nathan Crosby, *Delegate*.

Church in Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., Rev. J. L. Taylor, D. D., *Acting Pastor*; Rev. E. C. Smyth, D. D., *Delegate*.

Boston, Mass., Rev. H. M. Dexter, D. D.

Rowley, Mass., Rev. John Pike, D. D.

Beneficent Church, Providence, R. I., Rev. J. G. Vose, *Pastor*; Bro. R. B. Chambers, *Delegate*.

Central Church, Providence, R. I., Rev. George Harris, Jr., *Pastor*; Bro. F. W. Carpenter, *Delegate*.

Union Church, Providence, R. I., Rev. K. Twining, *Pastor*; Bro. A. C. Barstow, *Delegate*.

First Church, Hartford, Conn., Rev. E. H. Richardson, *Pastor*; Bro. Calvin Day, *Delegate*.

Park Church, Hartford, Conn., Rev. N. J. Burton, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. T. W. Russell, *Delegate*.

First Church, New Haven, Conn., Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., *Pastor Emeritus*; Bro. H. C. Kingsley, *Delegate*.

North Church, New Haven, Conn., Rev. Edward Hawes, *Pastor*; Bro. H. N. Day, *Delegate*.

First Church, New London, Conn., Rev. T. P. Field, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. Samuel Dennis, *Delegate*.

Second Church, New London, Conn., Rev. O. E. Daggett, D. D., *Pastor*.

First Church, Fairfield, Conn., Rev. E. E. Rankin, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. H. F. Curtis, *Delegate*.

First Church, Bridgeport, Conn., Rev. C. R. Palmer, *Pastor*; Bro. D. F. Atwater, *Delegate*.

Second Church, Bridgeport, Conn., Rev. Edwin Johnson, *Pastor*; Bro. E. Sterling, *Delegate*.

Broadway Church, Norwich, Conn., Rev. D. Merriman, *Pastor*; Bro. A. S. Bolles, *Delegate*.

New Haven, Conn., Rev. Samuel Harris, D. D.

First Church, Homer, N. Y., Rev. W. A. Robinson, *Pastor*; Bro. M. Hobart, *Delegate*.

First Church, Fairport, N. Y., Rev. J. Butler, *Acting Pastor*.

First Church, Binghamton, N. Y., Rev. Edward Taylor, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. W. B. Edwards, *Delegate*.

Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City, Rev. W. M. Taylor, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. W. H. Smith, *Delegate*.

Harlem Church, New York City, Rev. S. H. Virgin, *Pastor*; Bro. E. F. Brown, *Delegate*.

First Church, Albany, N. Y., Rev. W. S. Smart, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. Bradford R. Wood, *Delegate*.

South Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. A. J. Lyman, *Acting Pastor*; Rev. H. M. Storrs, D. D., *Delegate*.

Elm Place Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. Isaac Clark, *Pastor*; Bro. H. H. Van Dyke, *Delegate*.

Central Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. H. M. Scudder, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. D. M. Stone, *Delegate*.

New England Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. (E. D.), Rev. J. H. Lockwood, *Pastor*; Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, *Delegate*.

State Street Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. I. C. Meserve, *Pastor*; Bro. L. L. Robbins, *Delegate*.

Puritan Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. C. H. Everest, *Pastor*; Bro. S. B. Terry, *Delegate*.

Lee Avenue Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. (E. D.), Rev. T. J. Holmes, *Pastor*; Bro. H. C. Hodgdon, *Delegate*.

Plymouth Church, Syracuse, N. Y., Rev. A. F. Beard, *Pastor*; Bro. Peter T. Burns, *Delegate*.

New York City, Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D.

New York City, Rev. D. B. Coe, D. D.

First Church, Newark, N. J., Rev. W. B. Brown, *Pastor*; Rev. George Brown, *Delegate*.

Belleville Avenue Church, Newark, N. J., Rev. George M. Boynton, *Pastor*; Bro. J. H. Denison, *Delegate*.

First Church, Jersey City, N. J., Rev. G. B. Willcox, *Pastor*; Bro. J. Dixon, *Delegate*.

Orange Valley Church, Orange, N. J., Bro. John Wiley, *Delegate*.

Trinity Church, Orange, N. J., Rev. G. E. Adams, D. D., *Acting Pastor*.

First Church, Montclair, N. J., Rev. A. H. Bradford, *Pastor*; Rev. H. Q. Butterfield, D. D., *Delegate*.

First Church, Washington, D. C., Rev. J. E. Rankin, D. D., *Pastor*; Bro. A. L. Barber, *Delegate*.

First Church, Columbus, O., Rev. R. G. Hutchins, *Pastor*; Bro. D. B. Hills, *Delegate*.

Second Church, Oberlin, O., Rev. Hiram Mead, D. D., *Acting Pastor*; Rev. Henry Cowles, D. D., *Delegate*.

Oberlin, O., Rev. J. H. Fairchild, D. D.

First Church, Detroit, Mich., Bro. C. I. Walker, *Delegate*.

Second Church, Detroit, Mich., Rev. S. M. Freeland, *Pastor*; Bro. E. Palmer, *Delegate*.

First Church, Chicago, Ill., Rev. E. P. Goodwin, D. D., *Pastor*; Rev. W. W. Patton, D. D., *Delegate*.

New England Church, Chicago, Ill., Bro. C. G. Hammond, *Delegate*.

Chicago, Ill., Rev. G. N. Boardman, D. D.

Spring Street Church, Milwaukee, Wis., Rev. George T. Ladd, *Pastor*.

Beloit, Wis., Rev. A. L. Chapin, D. D.

Ripon, Wis., Rev. W. E. Merriman.

First Church, St. Louis, Mo., Rev. T. M. Post, D. D., *Pastor*.

The Council organized by appointing Rev. W. A. STEARNS, D. D., of Amherst College, Mass., Temporary Chairman, and Rev. A. H. QUINT, D. D., of New Bedford, Mass., Temporary Scribe. The permanent organization was completed on Tuesday evening, in the choice, by ballot, of Rev. LEONARD BACON, D. D., of New Haven, Conn., as Moderator, and Hon. C. I. WALKER of Detroit, Mich., as Associate Moderator; Rev. Dr. QUINT, and Rev. I. C. MESERVE of Brooklyn, N. Y., were elected Scribe and Assistant Scribe by *viva voce* vote. On Wednesday afternoon, the Committee on Credentials reported that the church in Orange Valley, N. J., having sent two delegates to the Council (in the absence of their pastor), the committee recommend that the delegates decide between them which one should act in representing the church, the other retiring. The same committee reported that in four cases, acting pastors had been sent to the Council, by churches invited, and recommended that these be received as members. This report was adopted, and the constitution of the Council was complete.

There was before the Council, in a printed pamphlet of fifty-one pages, the Letter-Missive, a Statement by the Joint Committee from the two inviting churches, with a copy of the charge, presented in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., in October, 1873, by William F. West, a member of that church, against Theodore Tilton, another member, before its Examining Committee, and the correspondence between that committee and Theodore Tilton, in relation to it. The charge was as follows:—

I charge Theodore Tilton, a member of this church, with having circulated and promoted scandals derogatory to the Christian integrity of our Pastor, and injurious to the reputation of this church.

Specifications accompanied the charge, but did not appear before the Council. In correspondence between the Examining Committee of Plymouth Church and Theodore Tilton, he had been notified of this charge, and requested to answer it. At a meeting of the Plymouth Church, Oct. 31, 1873, which acted upon the Committee's Report on the case, upon recommendation by the Examining Committee, the church voted to drop Theodore Tilton's name from its membership, on the ground that he, in reply, had said to a special committee from the Examining Committee:—

I have not for nearly four years been an attendant of Plymouth Church, nor have I considered myself a member of it, and I do not now, nor does the pastor of the church consider me a member, and I do not hold myself amenable to its jurisdiction in any manner whatever.

In a letter to the committee, dated Oct. 22, 1873, Mr. Tilton had written:—

It is about four years since I terminated all connection with the church, and am not now a member thereof; therefore the document addressed to me in that capacity I cannot receive.

It also appeared to Council that a card was published in the *New York Sun*, Nov. 3, 1873, dated Nov. 1, 1873, and signed S. B. Halliday, Clerk of Plymouth Church, which said, in part:—

Sir: Your report of the recent proceedings in Plymouth Church inadvertently speaks of Mr. Tilton's "expulsion." This is an error. Mr. Tilton was not expelled. Having four years ago ceased from his membership, his name, which has hitherto remained on the roll, was last evening, in accordance with the facts, with the rule, and without reflection upon him, taken from the roll.

Succeeding this, in the pamphlet, were six letters which passed between the Church of the Pilgrims and Clinton Avenue Congregational Church on the one part, and the Plymouth Church on the other,—three by each,—in which this action of Plymouth Church upon the case of Theodore Tilton was the subject of remonstrance by the two churches, in a communication, dated Nov. 8, 1873. In this they made request for a private conference with Plymouth Church, concerning its action, and suggested the assembling of a Mutual

Council to advise upon it, and upon further fellowship of the three churches, in case such conference were unsatisfactory. Plymouth Church declined a conference, and did not agree to a Council, but on the 5th December, 1873, adopted the following Resolution : —

Whereas, It is desirable that the relations of Plymouth Church, with other churches, should be clearly understood, — therefore,

Resolved, That this church reiterates the principles declared in Rules 1 and 2 of its Manual, adopted April 17, 1848, as follows :

This church is an Independent Ecclesiastical Body, and in matters of Doctrine, Order, and Discipline, is amenable to no other organization. This church will extend to other Evangelical churches, and receive from them that fellowship, advice, and assistance which the laws of Christ require.

Resolved, That we interpret these principles as relieving all other churches from responsibility for the doctrine, order, and discipline of this church, and this church from all responsibility for those of other churches ; and as asserting for this church the right to judge, in every case, what fellowship, advice, or assistance may, according to the laws of Christ, properly be offered or received.

The third letter from the two churches dwelt upon this Resolution, as seeming "to us of greater importance, both to you and to ourselves, than does the note" (accompanying it) "or perhaps any other action of yours recently taken." To this, the Plymouth Church made reply Jan. 2, 1874, expounding its conception of Congregationalism, and the case went to the Council afterwards convened by Letter-Missive which we have printed, on these facts.

The principal work of the evening, March 24, was the consideration of a resolution offered and supported by Prof. E. C. Smyth, D. D., of Andover, Mass., as follows : —

Resolved, That the Plymouth Church be invited, with the consent of the committees of the churches (the churches of course calling this Council) to present its views, orally, before the Council on the questions presented in the Letter-Missive, by its pastor and such committee as it may appoint ; and by the same committee (of course including the pastor) to furnish such information concerning the action referred to in these questions as the Council may request.

Upon a motion to adopt, the question of the nature and function of the Council, including the determination of its jurisdiction of the case and presentation likely to be brought before it,

was raised. On the one hand it was asked whether this Council might proceed at all, unless satisfied that the Plymouth Church had declined a Mutual Council, before its assemblage, and it was alleged that the Resolution virtually precluded the steps which *ex-parte* Councils have always taken immediately upon organization, before proceeding to action. A substitute was offered for the Resolution, but withdrawn without a vote, which declared the Council to be *ex-parte*, and invited the Plymouth Church to accept it as Mutual, with a promise of extending to that church all the rights and privileges of original parties.

As against the substitute, it was denied that the Council was *ex-parte*, and it was declared to be the design of the inviting churches to summon it, purely for advice to be given to themselves, they being aware that no *ex-parte* Council can exist until a Mutual Council has been distinctly declined. In reply it was said that by the questions presented in the Letter-Missive another church was implicated, and that Congregationalism has no place in its system for mere Councils of advice, when this is the fact.

Other amendments were put to vote and severally rejected. And after adopting the resolution of Prof. Smyth, by a decisive vote, he was appointed, with the Scribe, as a committee to present it, at the earliest possible moment, to the Plymouth Church.

Rev. Dr. Dexter, of Boston, then offered the following, which lay upon the table, to be taken up on Wednesday morning, March 25.

Resolved, That it is the opinion and judgment of this body that this is neither an *ex-parte* Council, nor a Mutual Council, but a Council for advice only, called regularly, according to the provisions of the Boston Platform of 1865, and in the exact line of Congregational principle and precedent; and as such, we are ready to proceed to the hearing, on the questions presented before us, in the Letter-Missive.

On Wednesday morning he supported it in a written argument, considering the question involved as the only one practical to the working of the Congregational polity, which had never been thought out, and, speaking of legislation in the Congregational sense, legislated through, to the last and com-

pletest issues. His main proposition was that a *Congregational Council, ex-parte, is always, and of the fixed necessity of its own being, a Council called within the local church.*

Tracing historically the origin and progress of *ex-parte* Councils in our own country, beginning with that at Weymouth, Mass., in 1646, he arrived at fundamental ideas which experience has developed as their root principles, viz.:—

I. There must be proper ground for calling such a Council. That is, (1) the subject-matter to which it relates must be within the legitimate sphere of consideration and advice by a Council; and (2) ultimate action must have been reached upon it, by the church, so that no possibility is apparent of getting what is felt to be wrong, righted, without such external help.

II. The matter involved being suitable to the advice of a Council, and final action having been taken in regard to it by the normal tribunal, with the result to leave one party in what he conceives to be a condition of wrong and oppression, for which no relief can be hoped from any other source than a review of the procedure by Council, it is further necessary to the legitimacy of an *ex-parte* Council that a Mutual Council, reasonably requested, shall have been unreasonably refused.

It was concluded from this, especially, that there can be no such thing as an *ex-parte* Council, where there is no supreme tribunal holding ultimate jurisdiction, which, in the judgment of aggrieved parties, reaching wrong and oppressive results, has come to a decision which must be final without the opportunity of revision by an *ex-parte* tribunal. The vital element legitimating *ex-parte* Councils, in cases between churches and aggrieved individuals, does not come into cases between churches and churches, to render *ex-parte* Councils apt and rational. Moreover, *ex-parte* Councils could not offer healing in the latter cases, even if held. They could only proffer access, with authority, to the public ear, and the practical restoration, in some degree, of forfeited rights, by furnishing the ground on which other churches may lawfully restore such a church to the privileges of fellowship.

His conclusion was that churches with questions of disagreement between them, may do well to convene Councils for light and peace, but these bodies are neither Mutual nor *ex-*

parte Councils. He would, therefore, recognize in our polity three classes of Councils, — *Mutual*, *Ex-parte*, and *Advisory*, — subdividing the third class into (1), Those called on questions of fellowship, and (2), Those called on questions of light and peace. Applying this reasoning, he submitted that this Council was not *ex-parte*, and that inquiry into minor, preliminary, and subordinate steps and events, as to what, specifically, may have been asked, and what refused by either church, was therefore precluded. Such inquiry could offer no result to impair the right of this body to assemble and to act. That right was found in the invitation of the Church of the Pilgrims and the Clinton Avenue Church, and in the action of the churches invited by them, in response to the same. A quorum being present, the Council had a fixed existence, and was ready to advance to its work.

This Resolution was debated at length. By some in the Council, it was declared to be unusual and unnecessary, as well as untrue and arbitrary. It was claimed that if the Council was not technically *ex-parte*, the same principles that would regulate, in part, the calling of an *ex-parte* Council, would in Christian reason, if not in precedent, apply to this ; and should the effect and weight which the Council was ultimately to have in its decision be considered, this would be more needful. The questions proposed to the Council, it was insisted, put the Plymouth Church on trial, without affording it a voice in selecting those who were to try it.

Other members of the Council urged that while the question in the resolution ought to be settled by the body, the time had not arrived for its decision, until the Council had received a full statement of the case and the facts to be brought before it.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Quint, the following amendment, accepted by the mover of the Resolution, was added :—

So far as they do not involve censure on any church which is not actually or constructively a party to this Council.

The Resolution, thus amended, was finally laid upon the table without vote, and it is understood that it was not passed upon during the private sessions.

The committee appointed to wait upon the Plymouth

Church reported a Resolution from that church,—that its thanks were tendered to the committee, and that answer would be made to the Resolution of the Council, adopted on Tuesday evening. Accordingly, a committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. Edward Beecher, Mr. Henry W. Sage, and Prof. R. R. Raymond, were present at 11.30 A. M., March 25, with the written Reply of Plymouth Church.

This Reply was a declinature to otherwise come before the body, and a protest against the Council's examining into the action of Plymouth Church, for seven reasons, viz : 1. This Council is *ex-parte*, convened without any regular and sufficient steps to obtain a Mutual Council. 2. To allow Councils to be called, as this has been, free from the rules governing the case of ordinary *ex-parte* Councils, would be subversive of the whole system of Mutual Councils. 3. This Council is summoned to advise, under distinct menace and moral coercion. 4. Officers of the great institutions to which Congregationalists have been accustomed to contribute most liberally, have been invited to attend this Council, and singled out for special and almost personal dictation. 5. The frame of this Council, in its widespread constituency and national character, is directly in opposition to the genius of Congregational polity, one great aim of which is to confine local troubles to their own locality. 6. The charges made against Plymouth Church are partly based upon the reported speeches of its pastor: the church insists that it will be judged only by its own acts. 7. It is proposed virtually to arraign Plymouth Church for alleged violations of Congregational usage. But Congregational usage itself derives its sole authority from the Word of God ; and no Council may call to account a Congregational Church for the alleged violation of principles not declared by the Word of God. [The seventh reason is here printed, in full.]

It was also declared in the Reply, that in the presentation of the case as made in the printed pamphlet issued by the joint committees of the Church of The Pilgrims and Clinton Avenue Church, the views and practice of the Plymouth Church, in cases of discipline, and upon the doctrine of church fellowship, were misrepresented, and these views were carefully affirmed.

Submitting, in addition to the Reply, a declaration of the principles and rules of discipline held by the Plymouth Church, the committee, under its instruction, took no further action, and retired. Their documents were listened to, received, and placed upon the records of the Council, and adjournment had until 3 P. M.

The afternoon session, March 25, was wholly occupied in the partial presentation to the Council, of the case submitted to them by the inviting churches, by Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs, Pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims. He considered the first five of the seven questions in the Letter-Missive. His address, fully printed for the first time in this volume, fills forty of its pages, and may truly be regarded as of wellnigh matchless power.

After a brief introduction, several misconceptions and errors as to matters connected with the labor undertaken with the Plymouth Church, and relating to the calling of the Council, were cleared away. The most important of these, that the two churches had unduly magnified a single case of erroneous doctrine and practice, in Plymouth Church, was particularly considered, and its nature as such, made to appear, by the circumstances of the case, within that church, and the import of the principles involved.

The first question was declared to be very simple. Can a man who has entered into the reciprocal obligations of church membership, terminate them by his own action,—not even by his own positive action, but by mere absence from church service,—by an unexpressed change in his own state of mind? To ask the question, seemed to the churches, to answer it. If he may do so, all church discipline is impossible, the idea of it preposterous. This principle would dissolve the church as an organized body, it would dissolve human society itself, if carried out.

The second question, whether, when in the voluntary absence of a church member, specific charges of grossly unchristian conduct are presented against him by a brother in the church,—to which charges he declines to answer,—it be accordant with Congregational order and usage that the church withhold inquiry as to the alleged wickedness, and in

the face of the public assertion of his offences, treat him as if still unaccused,—dropping his name from its roll, “without reflection upon him,”—was asserted, so far as the circumstances giving rise to it were indicative of a policy of action, to point to a course equally unknown and dangerous to Congregationalism. Dispensing with discipline in a case like this robs a Christian church of reformatory processes, of educational methods, and of its power to vindicate itself before the world. No such case had ever occurred in the church of which he was pastor.

The third question, whether, when such member, charged with having circulated and promoted scandals “derogatory to the Christian integrity of the pastor, and injurious to the reputation of the church,” is publicly released by the church which he confronts, without examination or censure, from church responsibility,—the rule of Christ in xviiith Matthew has been maintained or disregarded, was said to contemplate an offence of which church members may complain, and of which any church should take cognizance.

The fourth question (see p. 448) called by its terms for an answer, which did not necessitate a final judicial judgment concerning the Plymouth Church, but rather the statement whether there had been so much of a departure on its part, from the ordinary custom and rule of Congregational churches, as, under the circumstances, justified the two churches in remonstrating.

The fifth question asked for advice as to the continuance of fellowship with the Plymouth Church, by the two churches, in view of the fact that the recent action of Plymouth Church was maintained as being in accordance with the customary policy of that church. This advice, again, was not sought with a view to the censure of Plymouth Church, but in order that the churches might be extricated from further controversy. If it should not be given, Congregationalism would be condemned. The system should either be preserved in the purity of its principles, or carried to its grave, and buried. “But if it be living and strong as ever, ancient as the Gospel, mighty as the Truth, let us here,” said the speaker, “declare and reaffirm it, and give it new impulse for its mighty advance across the land, around the world!”

At the evening session, March 25, the formal presentation of the case to the Council was closed by Rev. Dr. Budington, who spoke upon the two remaining questions. The sixth question was : —

In view of the Resolution adopted by the Plymouth Church, Dec. 5, 1873, in which its rules are interpreted publicly and with authority, "as relieving all other churches from responsibility for the Doctrine, Order, and Discipline of this church, and this church from all responsibility for those of other churches," what is the duty, concerning that church, of the churches calling this Council? Especially, what action, if any, should they take to release themselves from the mutually responsible connection with it in which they have stood before the Christian public?

In his remarks, he presented, in close and cogent argument, the reality and the relation, in the Congregational system, of the two principles — the independency of the local church and its vital fellowship with sister churches. The interpretation given to the doctrine of the independence of the local church, by the Plymouth Church, was pronounced subversive of a true church fellowship, and declared to substitute for it what the Fathers have always expressly disowned. Historically, it was shown that (*a*) the Orthodox interpretation of Christianity (*b*), the covenanting of believers in mutual watchfulness, with the maintenance of discipline, and (*c*) the binding together of neighbor churches, in a similar covenant, to watch over one another in the Lord, — were three cardinal principles of our order. A change in the attitude of any church towards any of these fundamental principles, should be expressed by a change of name, as a matter of common honesty. The necessity of such change of name, to the prosecution of general Christian work, was plainly exhibited. And the Council was implored to show how the two churches should release themselves from another church, which substituted Independency for Congregationalism.

The seventh question, and the last, concerning the action of the churches, in their remonstrances and requests addressed to the Plymouth Church, was then dwelt upon, and the judgment of the Council invoked concerning it.

The thoroughness of treatment bestowed by Rev. Dr. Budington upon that part of the presentation which rested with

him, his grasp of the principles in question, and the forcible clearness with which he applied them to facts, are apparent in these pages.

The Council spent the half-hour from 9 A. M., March 26, in prayer for the divine guidance. The next two hours of the public session were occupied by questions from members of the Council addressed to Rev. Drs. Storrs and Budington, and the Committees of their churches, with their replies. The report of these proceedings, here printed with exactness, is of great practical value to the comprehension of the case which was before the body. The assistance which the Council derived from it, in reaching its Result, must have been material. But the record, from its nature, will not permit abbreviation, and our limits do not allow its insertion. It is found on pp. 192-228. In the directness and force of the extended remarks made by Rev. Dr. Storrs, in answer to inquiries put from all sides, he made perhaps as decisive an impression on the Council, as in the more elaborate and formal address of the preceding afternoon.

After the close of these questions and replies, the Council was by itself. Public session was resumed on Saturday, March 28, at 11.45 P. M. At that time, the Moderator read the following

RESULT OF COUNCIL.

This Council has listened carefully to the Committees of the churches by which it was convened, and has received from them a clear and earnest statement of the aims and principles which have determined the action of these churches, in the proceedings which they ask us to review.

We have also received from the Plymouth Church a communication, declining an invitation from this Council, as well as from these two churches, to appear, by its Pastor and Committee, and assist in the presentation and discussions of the questions before us; but at the same time offering suggestions and arguments, which we have carefully and candidly considered.

We cannot doubt the right of these two churches to ask advice of us, concerning the regularity and the Christian character of what they have done in their dealing with the Plymouth Church.

No church is beyond the reach of the public opinion of other churches, expressed either directly or through an ecclesiastical Council. Any church, in its essential and inalienable independence, may, in the exercise of a reasonable discretion, consider any public action of any other church; may, in proper methods, express its approval or disapproval; and may

make that public action the subject of friendly correspondence and remonstrance, or, if need be, the ground of a temporary or a permanent cessation of acts of intercommunion.

There has been laid before us a series of letters that have passed between these two churches and the Plymouth Church. On that correspondence it is our unquestionable right to have an opinion, and to express it, though we have no right to try the Plymouth Church, as a party, before us.

We have to say, then, that the letter of remonstrance and admonition with which the correspondence began was not uncalled for.

The churches throughout the United States, and the general public also, felt a painful anxiety on a question, imminent and urgent, in this city of Brooklyn, and involving the honor, not of the Congregational churches only, but of Christianity itself. Without any more explicit reference to that question, it will suffice to say that in the Plymouth Church a complaint was brought against a member that he had "circulated and promoted scandals derogatory to the Christian integrity of the pastor, and injurious to the reputation of the church." The person complained of appeared in the church-meeting, and declared that four years before that time he had, by his own volition, terminated his connection with the church; and thereupon his name was, by a vote of the church, dropped from the catalogue of its members. That action of the Plymouth Church was the occasion on which these two churches interposed, with remonstrance, and with a request for a friendly conference.

In this act they represented the interests of the fraternity of Congregational churches, whose principles of discipline, and whose fair Christian fame, were endangered by the course which Plymouth Church seemed to be pursuing. For this moral heroism they deserve thanks, even should errors of judgment be traceable in some of the details of their procedure.

In our consideration of the letter then addressed to the Plymouth Church, we find that the impression made by it was, in some measure, different from what was intended by its authors. Written under the pressure of apprehensions and anxieties long suppressed, it seems to have impinged, more painfully than was intended, on the sensibilities of those to whom it was addressed.

To many, the letter seems entirely unexceptionable, in matter and in manner, and entirely appropriate to the occasion; while to others it seems unnecessarily severe in the tone of its condemnation of the proceeding complained of.

In their second letter, the complaining churches, having found what impression they had made by their remonstrance, offered an explanation, which we trust was not unacceptable.

Concerning the reply of the Plymouth Church to that letter, we say nothing more than that an ingenuous explanation of the reasons which had prompted the Plymouth Church to rid itself of an offending member by an exceptional method, might have brought the correspondence to an early and a happy termination. We can see no sufficient reason why the request of the complaining churches, for a fraternal conference, should not have been granted.

In the subsequent correspondence, we see, on the part of the complaining churches, an expression of their desire to unite with the Plymouth Church in referring the points of difference to the advice of a Council. We find on the part of the Plymouth Church no definite expression, either of consent or of refusal. Yet, inasmuch as the Plymouth Church did not distinctly refuse to unite in a reference to a Council, we cannot but regret that the complaining churches did not urge their request, till a refusal, or an evasion, should have become unequivocal.

We are not invited, nor do we take it upon ourselves, to advise the Plymouth Church concerning its methods of dealing with offenders. But we are invited to advise these two churches on certain questions. Therefore, we say, distinctly, that the idea of membership in a Congregational church is the idea of a Covenant between the individual member and the church; that by virtue of that covenant, the member is responsible to the church for his conformity to the law of Christ, and the church is responsible for him; and that this responsibility does not cease till the church, by some formal and corporate act, has declared the dissolution of the covenant.

The covenant may be broken by the member. He may offend, and, when duly admonished, may give no satisfactory evidence of repentance. In that case he is cut off from communion; the church, having given its testimony, is no longer responsible for him, and he can be restored only by the removal of the censure.

Voluntary absence of a resident member from the communion of the church, and from its public worship, does not dissolve the Covenant; but is a reasonable ground of admonition, and, if persisted in, of final censure. When a regular complaint is made against such a member, that in some other respect he violates the law of Christ, — and especially when the complaint is that he has “circulated and promoted scandals derogatory to the Christian integrity of the pastor, and injurious to the reputation of the church,” — the consideration that he has long ago forsaken the church is only an aggravation of his alleged fault.

In regard to the future relations between these churches and the Plymouth Church, we express our hope that the very extraordinary proceeding which gave occasion for the correspondence and for this Council, will not be a precedent for the guidance of that church hereafter. Could we suppose that such proceedings will be repeated, we should feel that the disregard of the first principles involved in the idea of church-membership, and the idea of the fellowship of churches with each other, would require the strongest possible protest. But the communication from the Plymouth Church to this Council makes professions and declarations which justify the hope that such deviation from the orderly course of discipline will not be repeated.

The accused person, in that case, has not been retained in the church, nor commended to any other church.

We recite some of those declarations from the Plymouth Church which encourage the hope we have expressed. “We rejoice,” says the Plymouth Church, “to live in affectionate fellowship with all churches of the Lord

Jesus, and especially with those who are in all things like-minded with us, holding to the same faith and order, not only in things fundamental, but in things less essential, yet dear to us by conviction or association." "We cheerfully admit that whenever any church shall, openly and avowedly, change the essential conditions upon which it was publicly received into the fellowship of neighboring churches, or shall by flagrant neglect exert a pernicious and immoral influence upon the community, or upon sister churches, it is their right, either by individual action or by Council, to withdraw their fellowship. We hold that, preceding dis-fellowship, in all such cases, there should be such affectionate and reasonable inquiry as shall show that the evil is real; that the causes of it are within the control of the church; that the evil is not a transient evil, such as may befall any church, but is permanent, and tending to increase rather than diminish."

While it is not to be forgotten that this communication from Plymouth Church is entirely subsequent to the case as it stood upon the convening of this Council, when the Plymouth Church, by its action of Dec. 5, had declared itself responsible for no other church, and no other church for it, in respect to doctrine, order, and discipline,—which action, as interpreted in the circumstances then existing, implied a withdrawal to the ground of total independency,—yet that church is to be fraternally judged by its latest utterance.

These professions on the part of the Plymouth Church may be accepted by other churches as indicating its intention to maintain an efficient discipline, and to regard the mutual responsibility of churches. At the same time, the Council feels constrained to declare that these declarations seem to us inconsistent with the resolution of interpretation adopted by the Plymouth Church, December 5, 1873, and with other acts and statements appearing in the published documents. We think that the action of that church, as presented in these documents, if unmodified, would justify these churches in withdrawing fellowship. Yet, inasmuch as the Plymouth Church seems to us to admit, in its communication to us, the Congregational principles of discipline and fellowship, we advise the churches convening this Council to maintain with it the relations of fellowship, as heretofore, in the hope that Plymouth Church may satisfy these churches of its acceptance of the principles which it has been supposed to disavow.

We also desire, in this connection, to reaffirm and emphasize the doctrine laid down in all our platforms, of the obligation of Fellowship. This duty applies to all Christian churches. In the case of those instituted and united in accordance with the Congregational polity, it involves that more intimate communion which is exercised "in asking and giving counsel, in giving and receiving admonition," and in other acts relating to doctrine, order, and discipline.

This mutual responsibility of the Congregational churches has characterized their system from the beginning, distinguishing it from simple Independency. With the autonomy of the local church, it is one of the formative and essential principles of Congregationalism. Without it, we have

no basis, in our polity, for that system of co-operative effort to which our churches are pledged. We regard, therefore, the principles of Fellowship, which the pastors and churches convening us have so earnestly maintained, to be those which we have received from our fathers and the Word of God. We appreciate and honor their fidelity to those principles, under circumstances of peculiar and severe trial. And we offer our earnest prayer to the great Head of the Church, that He may bestow upon them, and the pastor and church with which they have been in correspondence, wisdom and grace; that He may guide them in all their action; and that He may quicken in all our churches, through these painful trials, a spirit of renewed fidelity to the sacred obligations of our Covenants and our church Communion. And we pray that He, to whom all power in heaven and on earth is given, and who has promised to be with his Church always, even to the end of the world, and who, under the inspiration of His Spirit, and His truth, has joined these churches in a grand and memorable past, standing shoulder to shoulder in the great moral and spiritual battles of the age, may again unite them in the future conflicts and victories of his kingdom.

LEONARD BACON,
C. I. WALKER,

Moderators.

A. H. QUINT,
I. C. MESERVE,

Scribes.

CLINTON AVENUE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
BROOKLYN, N. Y., MARCH 28, 1874.

No records of the private sessions of the Council appear to have been preserved. None at least found their way to the two churches at whose instance the Council convened. The *Result* is all with which they have been furnished; but it is understood with sufficient distinctness that the vote upon the *Result* was: *For the Result*, 87; *against the Result*, 8; *not voting*, 23.

A few words of grateful acknowledgment from Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs, in response to the reading of *Result*, was followed by the adoption of the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the members of this Council desire to record their thanks to God for the tokens of His presence, which, during their sessions, they have enjoyed; for the spirit of brotherhood and forbearance with which their discussions have been characterized, from first to last; and for the signal favor which He has shown them, in guiding them towards the result at which they have arrived. They recognize in these things the answer to the prayers which have been offered, not only by the members of the Council themselves, but by others, and by the churches whom they represent; and they return to their several spheres of labor in the faith that the Lord hath been with us, and will bless us.

Another resolution expressed the thanks of the Council to

the pastors and churches by which its members had been entertained, and with the doxology, and benediction from the Moderator, the Council dissolved.

The volume closes with the record of action by the Church of the Pilgrims and Clinton Avenue Church, April 3, 1874, accepting the Result of the Council. Their resolutions in doing this were as follows : —

Resolved, first : That this church accepts the Result of the Council, recently convened by its invitation, in connection with that of the Clinton Avenue Church,¹ and directs that it be entered, in full, on its permanent records.

Resolved, secondly : That this church is grateful to the sister churches, far and near, which responded, with such unusual readiness and unanimity, to its request for their presence and advice ; and also to the eminent clergymen who have given it the benefit of their counsel, in the peculiar circumstances in which it has been placed, and on the important questions which, in the Providence of God, have come before it.

Resolved, thirdly : That this church fully appreciates the wisdom and dignity, with the admirable spirit of kindness and candor, not towards the inviting churches only, but towards the Plymouth Church as well, which were shown by the Council in all its deliberations, and which are conspicuously manifest in its Result ; and while recognizing thus the wisdom, impartiality, and Christian fidelity of those whose counsel it had sought, it also devoutly and gratefully recognizes the guidance and the help of God, from the inspiration of whose Spirit come all wise counsels and all just works, and whose direction the church desires and prays ever to follow.

Resolved, fourthly : That this church welcomes the distinct recognition, by the Council, of the gravity of the occasion which called forth our earliest letter of remonstrance and admonition, and the emphatic approval expressed by it of the action in which we then "represented the interests of the fraternity of Congregational churches, whose principles of discipline, and whose fair Christian fame were endangered" ; it is encouraged by the distinct and vigorous affirmation, given by the Council, to what this church has always regarded as essential principles in the Congregational order of government ; it is instructed and reinforced by the explicit declaration of the Council, that the action of the Plymouth Church, prior to the issuing of our Letters-Missive, "if unmodified, would justify these churches in withdrawing fellowship" ; and it accepts, with cordial readiness, the suggestions of the Council, or of any members of it, as to any "errors of judgment which may be traceable in some of the details of our proceedings."

Resolved, fifthly : That as this church has had but one desire and purpose in all its correspondence with the Plymouth Church, — namely, to have the true principles of discipline within the local church, and of the

¹ "Church of the Pilgrims," as adopted at Clinton Avenue Congregational Church

fellowship and mutual responsibility of Congregational churches towards each other, maintained and honored, — and as these are judged by the Council to be now accepted and set forth by that church, with satisfactory clearness, and in a permanent form, in the declarations adopted by the Plymouth Church, March 25, and on that day presented to the Council, — which declarations constitute henceforth a part of the official records both of the Plymouth Church and of the Council — we accept, on our part, the recommendations of the Council touching our further relations to that church. We concur in the hope expressed by the Council that the "Plymouth Church may satisfy these churches of its acceptance of the principles which it has been supposed to disavow"; and without memories of bitterness, or anxious anticipations, we invoke for it an ever-increasing measure of Christian prosperity and the Divine favor.

Resolved, sixthly : That the foregoing report and resolutions be printed, and that a copy of them be sent, by the committee, to each of the churches, and to each of the clergymen not in the pastoral charge, invited to the Council by our Letters-Missive.

Resolved, finally : That, after performing the duties assigned by these resolutions, the special committee heretofore representing this church, in its correspondence with the Plymouth Church, and before the Council, be discharged from further duty.

For the Church of the Pilgrims :

RICHARD S. STORRS, *Pastor*,
RICHARD P. BUCK,
ARCHIBALD BAXTER,
DWIGHT JOHNSON,
JOSHUA M. VAN COTT,
ELI MYGATT, JR.,
WALTER T. HATCH,
LUCIEN BIRDSEYE,

Committee.

Brooklyn, N. Y., April 3, 1874.

For the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church :

WM. IVES BUDINGTON, *Pastor*,
ALFRED S. BARNES,
JAMES W. ELWELL,
HARVEY B. SPELMAN,
THOMAS S. THORP,
AUGUSTUS F. LIBBY,
FLAMEN B. CANDLER,
CALVIN C. WOOLWORTH,

Committee.

It cannot be wisely questioned that this Council rendered eminent service to our denomination, and to the Church of Christ. If its final utterances were in the exact line of history and precedent, it must not be forgotten that the principles of Congregationalism had been so called in question, as to make their reaffirmation a vital necessity. The Council was simply and wisely true to the Order of the Fathers ; that it could not have been otherwise, and conserved the imperilled system which the Fathers bequeathed, ought not to detract from a just estimate of the work it performed.

H. H. MCFARLAND.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

CONGREGATIONAL NECROLOGY.

Rev. WILLARD BRIGHAM died at Winchendon, Mass., March 1, 1874. He was born in Marlboro', Mass. (now Hudson), May 4, 1813. He was the son of Willard and Betsy (Russell) Brigham. In his youth he was inclined to sceptical views of religion.

During his seventeenth year he resolved to test the evidences of Christianity for himself. After a protracted examination, he came to the final conclusion that the Bible is the inspired Word of God. Soon after he began this investigation, he was deeply convicted of sin and of the justice of God in his own condemnation. He often said, "No one could study the evidences carefully and not be convinced that the Bible was the infallible Word of God." After his conversion he felt a strong desire to study for the Gospel ministry. Compelled to work his own way, he prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, and was graduated at Williams College in 1838. Ex-Gov. Buss, of Chicago, and Judge Wells and Judge Colt, of this State, were his classmates.

His standing in college was good, and he won the respect of all who knew him as an upright Christian man.

He was graduated at Andover Seminary in 1842. May 24, 1843, he was ordained as pastor over a new church in Wardsboro', Vt., where he remained twelve years, a laborious and successful pastor.

A pastor in Massachusetts, who was a young lad under his ministry, says of him, "His ministry made such an impression upon his people, that they quote Mr. Brigham to this day, as the standard of ministerial character."

After leaving Wardsboro' he was installed as pastor of the church in Ashfield, Mass., where he remained eight years.

Leaving Ashfield, he served, as acting pastor, the churches in Wardell three years, and South Wellfleet two years. He came to Winchendon in the spring of 1869, where he ministered to the First Church two years. His health failing, he was compelled to give up active labor, and gradually wasted under the pressure of incurable disease.

An intimate friend, Rev. A. Stevens, of Westminster, Vt., gives this testimony to his character: "I knew him well as a true friend, a devoted Christian, and able minister. His ability as a minister was known only after intimate acquaintance. As a thinker he had few superiors. There was nothing superficial about him. I give this

testimony after an intimate acquaintance with him as a student and as a minister in a neighboring parish for twelve years."

Mr. Brigham was interested in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the people among whom he dwelt, and made special efforts in behalf of schools and all public improvements. He did not disparage any branch of knowledge, and was well informed in regard to the pursuits of his people; yet his first ambition was to be well read in his own profession.

In the first twenty-six years of his ministry he never lost a Sabbath's preaching through ill health. He was always punctual in his attendance upon the meetings of church conferences and ministerial associations.

Rev. A. Stevens says, "His presence at the association was always regarded as the guarantee of a profitable meeting. His subjects were well thought out, and his thoughts well put, and he was always heard with esteem and profit."

Mr. Brigham was a good specimen of the faithful Gospel minister. A good man, who gave himself "wholly to these things."

He had deep religious convictions and was fearless in giving utterance to them. Taking the Word of God as his point of departure, he was not afraid to declare its plainest truths.

During the last months of his life he said he only regretted that he had not preached the Gospel more faithfully. He loved the Bible, and continued to read it according to a prescribed plan till within two days of his death.

The last winter of his life was spent with a daughter, a teacher of the High School in West Springfield, Mass., where he found many friends, and was favored by constant tokens of kindness and esteem. He returned to his home in Winchendon but two days before his death.

A patient sufferer, a cheerful Christian, he was not afraid of death when the summons came, but sweetly fell asleep in Jesus.

Mr. Brigham was married May 4, 1843, to Miss Maria Davenport, of Boylston, Mass. She died at Ashfield, Mass., Sept. 21, 1857, leaving four children, all now living. He was married again to Miss Laura Cleveland, of Medfield, Mass., Oct. 2, 1860, who survives him.

D. F.

EDWARD HALLAM CURRIER, oldest son of Warren Currier, late Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, and Lydia (Woodward) Currier, died at the residence of his father in St. Louis, Mo., April

18, 1874, in his twenty-sixth year, having been born in Windsor, Vt., May 21, 1848.

The following just notice of him as a scholar and teacher appeared in the *St. Louis Dispatch*, April 20:—

"In 1861 young Currier, being then in his thirteenth year, was admitted to the St. Louis High School, where he studied for four years, graduating in 1865 among the first in his class. He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1869. His position there as a student was the same as at the High School.

"In 1871 he became a teacher of the natural sciences in the High School, where he was as successful as an instructor as he had been as a pupil, winning the confidence, respect, and affection of teachers and scholars alike. A few months previous to his death he was compelled to resign his position temporarily, on account of ill health.

"During his brief, useful, and honorable life, young Currier was associated with the most talented young gentlemen of this city, and among them are his warmest and most appreciative friends. He possessed far more than ordinary natural abilities, was thoroughly and carefully educated, and was even in his boyhood distinguished for a dignified courtesy of manner."

Edward, in his Junior year at college, united with the Dartmouth College Church, March, 1868. At the time of his graduation, it was his purpose to study for the ministry, but his health became somewhat impaired the following winter. In the succeeding spring he went to Colorado, and remained there a number of months, and received some benefit from that climate, but his health was not fully restored. Under the advice of physicians, he gave up his purpose of entering the ministry, and applied himself, as he was able, to other lines of thought and study.

Through his maternal ancestry he was a descendant of Miles Standish, of the Mayflower. His mother, a daughter of George and Elizabeth (Leverett) Woodward, was a great-granddaughter of Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, D. D., the founder and first President of Dartmouth College. There was especial reason, therefore, why he should have been drawn to this college from his Western home.

From early life he possessed a lovely spirit, but his Christian character became more earnest and pronounced in his later years. He led many of his pupils to begin the better life, and his Christian influence in the Pilgrim Church, of which he was an active and beloved member, and among a large circle of young people in the city, was very decided.

Though not permitted to enter the ministry, yet at his funeral over

six hundred students belonging to the higher schools of the city were present to bear testimony to his Christian fidelity, and the spiritual good they had received through him.

His last days on earth were exceptionally peaceful and blessed. A Christian friend who spent the last Sabbath afternoon with him before his death, makes this comforting record :—

"He gave me a cordial welcome, and was exceedingly cheerful and talked freely of his approaching dissolution. 'I was never more peaceful,' he said; 'the king of terrors is entirely disarmed. I am stayed and soothed by an unflinching trust. I die with a Christian faith, not shrinking. I can trust Christ to carry me through, and bring me to the mansions prepared for them that love him. I knew that I had nothing to do but trust; I did trust and felt perfectly secure. Christ has promised to receive and care for those who come to him. I have tried to come, and I have no doubt whatever but that He will do as He has promised. Never before did the promises of the Gospel have so much meaning. It seems like going home to rest. I am to be set free from this body that has given me so much trouble.'"

To his pastor he expressed many beautiful and consoling thoughts, and among other important messages, he left these: "Tell my scholars, my trust is not now in science or philosophy, but in the Lord Jesus Christ." "Say at the young men's prayer-meeting, my heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord."

The following lines, found on his desk after his decease, copied in pencil in his handwriting, seem to have given expression to his feelings in the early part of his last sickness :—

"Jesus, deliverer!
Come thou to me;
Soothe thou my voyaging
Over life's sea.
Thou, when the storm of death
Roars, sweeping by,
Whisper, O Truth of Truth,
Peace! it is I."

C. L. G.

The Rev. ISAAC FARWELL HOLTON, who died at Everett, Mass., Jan. 25, 1874, aged 61 years, was born in Westminster, Vt., August 30, 1812, and was the son of William and Olive (Rockwood) Holton. In 1828 he went to South Berwick, Maine, and there resided with an uncle, Isaac Holton, a graduate of the University of Ver-

mont, four years, teaching part of the time. In 1831 he was in Amherst Academy completing his preparation for college, and was graduated from Amherst College, Mass., in 1836, and from the Union Theological Seminary, New York city, in 1839, having joined the Middle Class in 1837. In 1840 he was an instructor in Dr. David Nelson's Mission Institute, at Quincy, Ill. In 1848, he occupied the chair of Botany in one of the New York city Schools of Medicine. In 1856 Mr. Holton was appointed Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Middlebury College, Vt., which position he resigned in 1857. Previous to this, in 1852, his passionate love of natural science, especially Botany, in which Dr. Asa Gray, of Harvard, ranked him as among the first scholars in this country, had sent him to South America on a two years' foot tramp, the result of which was an octavo volume, published in New York, in 1857, under the title of *New Grenada: Twenty Months in the Andes*. In 1859, after some two years of preaching at Meredith Village, N. H., and Cornwall, Vt., he received an appointment from the A. H. M. Society to labor at Lawrence, McHenry Co., Ill.; was ordained an Evangelist at that place, in 1860, May 1, by the Presbytery of Belvedere, Prof. Blaisdell, of Beloit College, preaching the ordination sermon. Four years of ministerial labor were expended in Lawrence and Alden, six miles distant. In 1863 he removed to Hillsgrove, Ill., from which place he transferred his residence to Boston, Mass., in 1865. Mr. Holton was married in Cornwall, Vt., April 26, 1858, to Mary Susanna Warner, and left four children, two sons and two daughters.

The scientific attainments of Prof. Holton were eminent both for variety and thoroughness. Much of his learning was in fields and nooks, quite out of the beaten paths. He brought away from his researches among the Andes 1800 different species of plants. He was an expert in Mathematics, and made many abstruse investigations in that science. Whatever he did was of a most painstaking exactness. His power to master a branch of knowledge was greatly beyond his ability to communicate it to others. As an instructor he was not successful. He pursued study for its own sake, for the pure love of it. Writing continually for the periodical press on every kind of topic, both before and after his final removal East, he was singularly conscientious in always securing the closest possible accuracy. Sending to an editor a newspaper article on the Danish question, in 1864, he says: "I thought I could write it without opening a book, and find, on finishing it, I have used eight, and that without full satisfaction. Accuracy will not pay till beyond the grave." For some time he was employed in popularizing and condensing scientific

works on mechanics, mathematics, and medicine, for a New York publisher. He must have used tight screws, as he wrote to a friend, "It costs two dollars to reduce a lecture of Prof. Henry's to ten lines."

While drudging for a mere existence as a Home Missionary on an Illinois prairie, during the late war, he thus, with a mixture of playful banter and almost disheartened impatience, refers to his pursuit of literary tasks under trying enough difficulties: "Perhaps I can write best, 'cabined, cribbed, confined,' with three roosting little children in our one living-room, writing now on the dining-table, then on an atlas or melodeon or sewing-machine, taking books from their shelves in the bedrooms, or from their boxes up-stairs, now stopping to bring wood or water, now to discuss rails and cord-wood with my tenant, now to act as justice of the peace in my little dominion, associating only with men 'whose talk is of oxen,' with no current literature in reach or time for it—quite probably not. He who would try to eat a wild pineapple from its native rock, could not judge thereby what it might become in a better soil."

Various considerations operated to convince Mr. Holton that it was not his duty to give his life any longer to looking after those few sheep in the wilderness. Though devoted heartily to the Christian cause, and of a singularly childlike religious spirit, he was not popular as a preacher. The war was in progress, and his mind was set on a chaplaincy in the army, for which his general information and great mechanical aptitudes would have well adapted him. He, in fact, made application for this post in a colored regiment. "If I stay here another year, it will be because I have nowhere else to go, and it seems as if the time will be lost. . . . I feel like Uriah in Jerusalem, orcharding here, while 4,000,000 freedmen and as many poor whites are coming to the light. . . . But no time is really lost while we follow the Pillar of Cloud." This army project did not, however, succeed, and his intense longing for an outlet into more congenial activities was finally gratified by an arrangement which brought him to Boston, a year or two after, as an assistant editor of the *Boston Recorder*. Into this long-desired work he threw all his energies and varied acquisitions. As an illustration of his singular aptness for this position—when, about that date, the *Recorder* published a jubilee number, at the completion of its fiftieth year, by a few days of exploration and study, Mr. Holton, though previously unacquainted with Boston, got up a minute and accurate description of the place, at the time the *Recorder* was founded, giving the location of the streets, the principal buildings and business establish-

ments, and an admirable account of the city in those early days. When the *Recorder* was combined with the *Congregationalist*, and the *Daily News* was issued, Mr. Holton was employed as one of its editors, and was hard at work upon its columns, and other literary and scientific engagements, when death surprised him apparently in his usual health. He had attended church, Jan. 25, but almost immediately on reaching home was stricken down with sudden paralysis of the heart, and expired,—a fit ending of his busy, hard-worked life. She who best can testify to its spirit, says, "As a family, we *know* how faithfully he did his work; how he wanted to inculcate in his children the same purpose of thoroughness and faithfulness, in whatever they undertook, as has ever characterized him. . . . We realize that, if he came short in leaving us worldly goods, he has left us a noble legacy in his good name."

J. T. T.

REV. JOHN WALTER PIERCE, who died at Highgate, Vt., March 2, 1872, aged sixty years, was the son of John and Lucy (Carroll) Pierce, and was born in Sutton, Mass., July 11, 1811. He became a Christian while young, under the ministry of Rev. John Maltby, afterward for many years the highly esteemed pastor of the Hammond Street Church, Bangor, Me. It was through Mr. Maltby's influence that he was induced to commence study with a view to the ministry.

Following his much loved pastor to Bangor, there he entered the Bangor Classical Institute, and was graduated at the Bangor Theological Seminary in 1840. He was ordained at Sutton, Mass., Oct. 20, 1840, and commenced his work as a minister, in the service of the A. H. M. Society, at Hudson, Mich., where he labored with fidelity and success two or three years, when, the climate being deemed unfavorable to the health of his family, he removed to Harpersville, Delaware County, N. Y. After a ministry there of a few years, his own health failed and he was obliged for a season to suspend ministerial labor. For some time he was engaged in a secular agency. But at length his health was so far recovered that he ventured to resume the duties of his chosen calling, which he did, with the Congregational Church at East Westminster, Vt., in 1851, where he labored acceptably two years or more. In 1853 he accepted a call to the church in Jericho, Vt., where he remained four years. His ministry in Jericho was highly successful. A precious revival was enjoyed, and the church was made glad by additions to its membership. He next removed to Highgate for one year, and thence to St.

Alban's Bay, where he had labored but a few months, when it was deemed necessary to the health of his family that he should seek a home upon the sea-coast. Accordingly in 1859 he removed with his family to Tremont, on Mt. Desert Island, Maine, where after a ministry of five years his own health again failed, so that he was obliged to cease from ministerial service.

From Mt. Desert he removed to Clinton, Mass., where he remained four years, unable to preach except occasionally. Though to be laid aside from the ministry was to him a severe trial, yet as he would not be idle, he again engaged in secular business, but with less satisfaction than success. He had acquired some property, and having previously purchased a house in Highgate, in March, 1868, he removed his family there. His health had for some time seemed gradually improving, and in Jan. 1871, his physician pronounced his lungs well, and judged that he might with safety resume his much loved profession. Rejoicing at the thought of again laboring in the Gospel ministry, he made an engagement with the church at West Townsend, Vt., where having preached a few Sabbaths, he left for Highgate, intending soon to return; and if suitable arrangements could be made, to take his family with him. He reached home quite ill from the effects, as he supposed, of a severe cold. He was confident that he should soon be well again, and was anxious about preparations for a removal to his contemplated field of labor. But alas! his work as a minister was done. Consumption had taken fast hold upon him. Alternating periods of comparative comfort, with days and nights of suffering, measured out a year or more, when his spirit was released from its clayey tenement and he entered upon his reward. His remains now sleep in the cemetery at Highgate.

Mr. Pierce was a good preacher; sound in the faith, clear in his theological views, nobly earnest and self-sacrificing in his Master's cause, and ready unto every good word and work. In his last protracted sickness, he was patient, submissive, trustful, and peaceful.

He was joined in marriage Aug. 30, 1841, with Miss Mary D. Knight, of Bangor, who lives to mourn his loss. They had six children, only three of whom survive.

LITERARY REVIEW.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

ALL who are familiar with the *Eclipse of Faith* will welcome the announcement of another volume from the same distinguished author. His theme, in the present instance, is the *Superhuman Origin of the Bible*.¹ The volume consists of nine lectures, with the following titles: I and II. On some Traits of the Bible which seem at Variance with Certain Principles and Tendencies of Human Nature. III. Ancillary Arguments, drawn from Certain Traits of the New Testament, as contrasted with what might be expected from the Antecedence of the Writers. IV. Arguments derived from (1) "Coincidences" between certain Statements of Scripture and certain Facts of History; (2) Indications of the Unity of the Bible. V. A Reply to Objections founded on Certain Peculiarities of Form and Structure exhibited in the Bible. VI and VII. On Certain Peculiarities of Style in the Scriptural Writers. VIII. On the Exceptional Position of the Bible in the World. IX. On Certain Analogies between the Bible and "The Constitution and Course of Nature."

To these lectures is added an Appendix of forty pages, elucidating more fully some of the points treated in the lectures.

The whole work is scholarly and profound. The argument is clear, and displays the incisive qualities of the author. Although he traverses a field which has been worked again and again by master-minds, his treatise is fresh, and a valuable contribution to biblical literature.

Mr. Rogers's power of expression is varied and comprehensive. Were we to criticise his style, we should say his sentences are sometimes too long. The heads, or leading thoughts, are often prefaced with an introduction, when it would have been better to have stated them at once. There is such frequent use of words from foreign languages as may seem, to some minds, to give the air of pedantry; and the same impression may be made by the use of such words as "defecate," "tractate," and "equated." Yet to other minds a simpler style would have taken from the work some of its present attractions. Had there been a Table of Contents and an Index, there would have increased the value of the volume.

We commend to the sceptically inclined the declaration respecting "certain generic resemblances among the professed revelations," that "uniformity has prevailed long and far enough to show, if there be any force in induction at all, that even if there be no God, men will yet have one, or even many, rather than be destitute of a God altogether." pp. 3, 4.

If any are interested in "Civilized Heathen," we commend to them the testimony of this learned author respecting the morality of the Bible. "How much this draft of morality, consistently articulated as it is with the idea of God, differs from that of the heathen nations in general, is

¹ The Superhuman Origin of the Bible inferred from Itself. By Henry Rogers.

obvious enough to any one who has attentively considered their history." p. 21.

Speaking of the volumes written against the Bible, this author attests : " If collected, . . . they would occupy far more than a thousand times the space of the one volume against which they are directed ; and would certainly be much more numerous than all the works that all other ' sacred ' books ever had the honor of provoking, either *for* or *against* them." p. 331.

This course of lectures will be a valuable accession to any pastor's library.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC.

THE Theological and Philosophical Library, edited by Henry B. Smith, D. D., and Philip Schaff, D. D., is a work exhibiting the scholarship and untiring industry of the editors and the bold enterprise of the publishers. The character of the books must render the sale limited, as is the case with all professional works, but the undertaking is not, on this account, the less important. Students, and particularly studious clergymen, will gladly avail themselves of this treasury of knowledge. Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*,¹ in two volumes, constitutes the first portion of the Philosophical Division. The first volume was issued in 1872, and was noticed by us at the time. The second volume has been received, and is worthy of an extended notice ; but such is the massive character of the materials which it furnishes that it is impossible to give, within our limits, any more than a general idea of the work.

The translation is from the fourth German edition, by George S. Morris, a Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan, and associate of the Victoria Institute, London. Vol. II gives the history of Modern Philosophy. This history the author presents in three divisions. The first is the epoch of transition to independent investigation, beginning with the renewal of Platonism. The second is the period of empiricism, dogmatism, and scepticism, as rival systems, from Bacon and Descartes to the Encyclopædists and Hume. The third is Philosophy in its most recent period, or criticism and speculation from the time of Kant.

As to what is to be regarded as *Modern Philosophy*, Ueberweg makes the limit commence with the discontinuance of the subserviency of Philosophy to Theology, such as characterized it in its scholastic form, or with the transition from mediæval dependence on the authority of the church and of Aristotle, to the independent choice of authorities, and thence to the beginnings of original and uncontrolled investigation.

The learned author not only traces the theories of different philosophers, but gives us also sketches of their personal history, and catalogues of their

¹ History of Philosophy, from Thales to the Present Time, by Friedrich Ueberweg. Vol. II. History of Modern Philosophy. New York : Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874. Royal 8vo. pp. 561. \$4.00.

writings. Indeed, no one can appreciate the elaborate character of this work without making it a careful study. In delineating the present state of Philosophy, this writer presents first, its state in Germany, and second, its state outside of Germany; devoting to the former 45 pages, and to the latter 10.

The Appendix to this volume is itself sufficient to constitute an elaborate volume. It consists of a sketch of Philosophy in Great Britain and America, by Noah Porter, D.D., LL. D., president of Yale College, and a sketch of Italian Philosophy by Vincenzo Botta, PH. D., late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Turin; the former occupying 112 pages, and the latter 56 pages. President Porter's sketch is an honor to American scholarship, both as an exhaustive presentation of his theme and as an exhibit of the authors and their works.

President Porter very justly remarks that "Philosophy in America, as in England, has been prosecuted chiefly as an applied science, and in its special relations to Morals, Politics, and Theology." The array of American philosophical writers, and the catalogues of their works, will, we think, surprise European authors.

It is a marvel to Europeans that many of the theological systems of America have been set forth in discourses delivered to popular assemblies. They should now learn to appreciate the philosophical character of American authors, even though their speculations, instead of being issued in a philosophical treatise, are found in connection with the discussion of practical themes.

An index of twenty-five pages adds to the value of this volume, and would be improved were it even more extended. If such men as John Smalley, Stephen West, and Moses Stuart were worthy of being mentioned among the American authors, their names were worthy of being included in the index.

A BOOK which might properly have been noticed earlier, and is deserving of notice at any time, is Dr. Hopkins's *Outline Study of Man*.¹ This work is comprehensive. It embraces within its sweep the field of various sciences, we had almost said of all sciences. "It gives a *Law of Construction* for the universe, so far as we know it, by which the whole, including man, is brought into one system. It gives a *Law of Conduct* for man, that grows out of the construction; and also a *Law of Limitation*, that enables us . . . to carry the Law of Conduct into the details of life." Of course, the survey of a field so broad, in so small a compass, can give only "an outline," and must be in some portions, for some purposes, unsatisfactory; but it has advantages as well as disadvantages. The form of statement is fresh, and the view taken is sometimes original.

The twelve lectures which compose the volume were delivered before

¹ An Outline Study of Man; or, the Body and Mind in One System. With Illustrative Diagrams, and a Method for Blackboard Teaching. By Mark Hopkins, D. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1873. 8vo. pp. 308. \$1.75.

the Lowell Institute, in Boston, and the attempt to illustrate so abstract a theme by diagrams and the use of the blackboard gives a special interest to the work. We have no occasion to indulge in general commendations of this volume. It exhibits the common-sense, the acuteness, and the breadth of the distinguished author.

If we may speak of this "outline" anatomically, its vertebral column is the "law of conditioning and conditioned," — "a law of dependence of the upper upon the lower forces." Of this law Dr. Hopkins says : —

"It will give us our method in the investigations that are to follow. I do not speak of it as anything new. It was stated by me some ten years since in this place, and will be found in the "Lectures on Moral Science" then delivered and since published. But as I am to make so free use of this, — as it is, indeed, so the condition of these lectures that I could not have delivered them without it, their whole method depending upon it, — it may not be unsuitable for me to say that, so far as I know, it had not been previously stated. I feel, therefore, that I have a right to it." p. 28.

Since this author seems to plume himself with the statement of this law as an original discovery, it is a matter of justice to state that there was, at least, a partial recognition of this law by the late Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor. In his lectures on "Mental Science," in classifying ideas with reference to their origin, he was accustomed to say, "We have three classes of ideas, namely, ideas of sensation, ideas of perception, and ideas which the mind gives *on condition* of ideas of sensation and perception." With this language his students were made familiar thirty years ago. Dr. Hopkins, in discussing the origin of our ideas, takes precisely the same ground, and uses substantially the same language. Thus, of necessary ideas he says, "These ideas come, not by sensation or perception, but on the *occasion* of them. *They are given by the native power of the mind* as an original source of ideas." p. 98. Dr. Taylor speaks of these ideas as those which "the mind gives *on condition* of ideas of sensation and of perception." This law of "the conditioning and conditioned," which he thus recognized in one point of mental science, Dr. Hopkins makes so universal as to say, "It is, I think, the law that pervades the structure of the universe up to the point where a true causation comes in and gives it its unity; and it is under the guidance of this law that we now take up the study of man." p. 28.

As respects the question of originality, we see here the coincidence of great minds; or if Dr. Hopkins ever heard this language of Dr. Taylor from himself, or from any of his numerous students, it shows how easy it is for a man, forgetting the source of his ideas, to imagine, in subsequent years, his own mind as originating them.

The plain statement by this author, that "the authority of the human faculties is, for us, and must be, the ultimate authority" (p. 61), would have startled some timid minds in Dr. Wood's day.

It may be a comfort to some persons, perhaps a damper to others, to read in the writings of such an author as Dr. Hopkins the statement that

"it is a great thing to be able to think clearly and distinctly on any subject, and no man can do it on many." p. 158.

Those who indulge in speculations as to whether the Divine nature can suffer, will be interested in the following statement by Dr. Hopkins: "As a fact, I think that beings, with a sensibility in any form, are capable of suffering just in proportion as they are capable of enjoyment." p. 196.

This volume, like those which have preceded it from the same author, presents a modified form of Utilitarianism in the position that "Good is fundamental; . . . it is . . . the ultimate reason for choice. . . . Something ultimate we must have, . . . and this we find in good, known as such, in some form of the sensibility." p. 234.

This theory depreciates conscience and dishonors God, whom it makes a source of ultimate motive only as a good presented to the sensibility. It subordinates Theology to Ethics. Inconsistently, as it seems to us, with his theory, this author admits that there are "acts and courses of conduct in view of which obligation arises when there is no distinct apprehension of good, and none at all except as it comes in the promise implied in the sense of obligation itself." p. 236. But he degrades this "sense of obligation" by representing it as "analogous to instinct in animals," and declaring that "it is merely impulsive, and can never be the ground of a philosophy." p. 237.

He belittles the idea of right by representing it as having reference merely to "a difference of means and of methods" in the carrying out of choice, or in executive volitions, saying, "The idea of right does not come in originally as the foundation of the obligation to choose, but obligation to act in a given way arises immediately from an apprehension of the rightness of the act, that is to say, from its tendency to accomplish the end." p. 239.

With the idea of right, as held by those who object to his own view of good as the only ultimate motive of choice evidently in view, he remarks, "It does not seem possible that an attempt would have been made to found the science of morals on an idea having a similar origin with that of space." p. 249. But since he maintains that some of our ideas are given by what he is disposed to call "the practical or moral reason," why may not our idea of right be derived either from the conscience or from this source, if the two are viewed as distinct? What necessity is there of remanding it to the province of the pure intellect? He alleges that, to connect their idea of right "with the sensibility and the will, . . . puts it out of all relation to" the "necessary ideas" "of time and space." We would suggest that the phrase "*all* relation," in this connection, is unwarrantable. It may be out of the relation of origin, without being out of the relation of necessity. In other words, we may have necessary ideas from other sources beside the pure intellect. This is admitted on another page by Dr. Hopkins himself; for speaking of certain ideas as the products of practical and moral reason, he says, "They are *given in the same way* as the necessary ideas from the intellect alone." p. 246. It is not only "a great thing," as Dr. Hopkins says, "to be able to think clearly and

distinctly on any subject," but a greater thing to be able to think consistently.

This writer's distinction between nature and the supernatural appears from the following: "Nature is the region of necessity. . . . But that which is free, and has dominion over nature, is *super* natural." "All spirit and spiritual activity, whether it be morally good or evil, is supernatural." p. 258. His definition of a miracle is peculiar. "In a miracle the will of God acts directly, and produces outward effects with no intervening agency." pp. 259, 260. This suggests the inquiry whether, when Naaman was cleansed of his leprosy, the intervention of the water of the Jordan prevented its being a miracle? And how was it when our Lord opened the eyes of the blind man, — was it any less a miracle because of the intervening agency of the clay and the spittle?

This author usually writes with great accuracy, but we find in this volume one sentence which is far from illustrating this scholarly habit. He says, "We have thus finished what I propose to say on this part of our nature." Why should "we" and "I" be used as interchangeable? How can he propose to do what he has already finished, unless he proposes to repeat his lectures? But changing the word "propose" to the past tense, had he finished what he proposed, or what he purposed?

These lectures are scientific, and hence the idea of exerting in them a moral and spiritual influence is properly subordinate; and yet their influence is admirable. With this general commendation, we cannot forbear to say that there is one sentence which we would be glad to have seen modified, namely: "Follow the fashions, attend parties, balls, theatres, as you choose, provided you do nothing to repress or limit your better nature and the power of God's spirit within you. 'We are called to liberty.'" p. 273.

We cannot but think that a soul more intent on doing good, and more free from a spirit of non-committalism, would at least have expressed the positive idea that the course suggested *will limit* the better nature and the power of God's spirit within, and certainly would have avoided the quoting of such Scripture in such a connection.

There is, moreover, a positive as well as a negative principle. It is our privilege not only not to repress and limit, but actually in our recreations and amusements to develop and expand our better nature and the power of God's spirit within us. While we indicate what seem to us faults in this treatise, we are happy to testify that we have read it with deep interest, and trust that it will have a sale commensurate with its great value as a contribution to science.

AN important volume, which is worthy to be classed as scientific, has been called out by the agitation of the question as to woman's sphere. We refer of course to Dr. Clarke's *Sex in Education*.¹ Rarely has a

¹ *Sex in Education*; or, a Fair Chance for the Girls. By Edward H. Clarke, M. D., Member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Fellow of the American

volume ever produced more excitement among pseudo-reformers. It fell like a bomb-shell in their camp. The delicate character of the theme discussed has, in the past, precluded it from public consideration. But it is time to discriminate between true and false delicacy, and bring the facts of science to bear on questions of reform.

The position of the learned author is, that in our system of education we should mark the distinction of sex: that boys should be educated to secure the highest manhood, and that in the education of girls the aim should be to secure the highest womanhood. He distinguishes between the co-education of the sexes and identical co-education. By the former he designates a union as to time and place, and admits that "it is possible that many advantages might be obtained from the co-education of the sexes that would more than counterbalance the evils of crowding large numbers of them together." In the latter he includes "time, place, government, methods, studies, and regimen." "This admits age and proficiency, but not sex, as a factor in classification." "This identical co-education" he opposes by an appeal to physiological facts, summoning his knowledge as a scientist, and his experience as a physician, to sustain his position.

The central idea of the work may be derived from the following extracts:

"The persistent neglect and ignoring by women, and especially by girls, ignorantly more than wilfully, of that part of their organization which they hold in trust for the future of the race, has been fearfully punished here in America, where, of all the world, they are least trammelled, and should be the best, by all sorts of female troubles."

"Schools and colleges require girls to work their brains with full force and sustained power, at the time when their organization periodically requires a portion of their force for the performance of a periodical function, and a portion of their power for the building up of a peculiar, complicated, and important mechanism,—the engine within an engine."

"Periodicity characterizes the female organization and develops feminine force. Persistence characterizes the male organization and develops masculine force. Education will draw the best out of each by adjusting its methods to the periodicity of one and the persistence of the other."

"The regimen of intermittence, periodicity, of exercise and rest, work three fourths of each month, and remission, if not abstinence, the other fourth, physiological interchange of the erect and reclining posture, care of the reproductive system that is the cradle of the race, all this, that toughens a girl and makes a woman of her, will emasculate a lad."

"Woman seems to be looking up to man, and his development, as the goal and ideal of womanhood. The new gospel of female development glorifies what she possesses in common with him, and tramples under her feet, as a source of weakness and badge of inferiority, the mechanism and functions peculiar to herself."

"Girls lose health, strength, blood, and nerve, by a regimen that ig-

Academy of Arts and Sciences, late Professor of *Materia Medica* in Harvard College. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. 12mo. pp. 181. \$1.25.

nores the periodical tides and reproductive apparatus of their organization. The mothers and instructors, the homes and schools of our country's daughters, would profit by occasionally reading the old Levitical law. The race has not yet quite outgrown the physiology of Moses."

The eminent standing of the author, the scientific and scholarly character of the book, and the great importance of the subject discussed, has led to a speedy demand for several editions of the work; and rarely is a volume issued calculated to exert so wide an influence, or effect so fundamentally the condition of society. We have long felt that there was a demand for just such a work as this, and we give it our most hearty endorsement.

HISTORICAL AND EDUCATIONAL.

D. LATHROP & Co., as publishers, have shown their enterprise and tact by issuing, at this early date, a *Life of Charles Sumner*.¹ The joint authors (the latter, Mrs. Chaplin) have done their work well. Although the volume is designed to meet a present want, in the most prompt manner, still the book does not bear marks of hasty writing. It does not, or course, enter thoroughly upon a discussion of the times in which the great statesman lived. It does not pretend to give a full survey of his public career: but it does dwell upon "his connection with the one great subject which, above all others, called out his powers and developed his character." It is written by personal admirers, and hence presents only what was pleasing and ennobling in his character. It is an interesting and worthy tribute to a great man. His many friends will gladly avail themselves of it as the offering of earnest minds and of grateful hearts.

THE friends of education are under obligation to Birdsey G. Northrop, LL.D., for his timely volume on *Education Abroad*.² It is only the full title which conveys an idea of the contents, as there is in the volume a variety of papers on educational matters.

The seventy-six pages devoted to answering the question "Should American Youth be educated Abroad?" is made up chiefly of letters from the presidents of American colleges and other prominent educators in our land.

"1. All agree that the elementary and preparatory studies should be pursued at home.

"2. Nearly all concur in the view that the collegiate course should be completed in our own country.

"3. There is a general agreement in favor of first completing the ordinary professional course in our own institutions.

"4. Many favor a post-graduate course for the fuller pursuit of certain specialties in some of the great universities of Europe."

¹ *Life of Charles Sumner*. By Jeremiah Chaplin and J. D. Chaplin.

² *Education Abroad and Other Papers*. By Birdsey Grant Northrop, LL.D. New York: D. S. Barnes & Co. 1873. 8vo. pp. 176. \$1.50.

There is the unavoidable infelicity that this testimony comes from persons whose position exposes them to the charge of not being altogether disinterested witnesses. Still we are free to say that in our view the facts not only abundantly warrant the positions taken, but would justify still higher ground and more extreme positions. We notice that the letters come from our college presidents rather than from officers in our professional schools. If the professors in our theological seminaries had added their testimony, we think there would have been less favor shown to "a post-graduate course for the fuller pursuit of certain specialties in some of the great universities of Europe," unless it be understood for rare and exceptional cases. We recall the declaration of one of our oldest and most distinguished theological professors, that he had endeavored to be very cautious about recommending his students to repair to Germany for the further prosecution of their studies; and yet of the few whom he had ventured to advise to go, there was not one in twenty but that had in some way been injured by their foreign associations.

Our country is suffering, morally, by too frequent and superficial intercourse with European nations; and our students, after a temporary residence abroad, give proof that their religious faith is toned down and their standard of morality made more lax.

We hope this volume will exert an influence to check a growing evil. The cover of the book is put on wrong side up, but the book itself is right side up.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Harper & Brothers, New York.

The Land of the White Elephant: Sights and Scenes in Southeastern Asia. A personal narrative of travel and adventure in Farther India, embracing the countries of Birma, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin China (1871-2). By Frank Vincent, Jr. With Maps, Plans, and numerous Illustrations. 1874. Crown 8vo. pp. 316. \$3.50.

Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1873. Edited by Spencer F. Baird, with the assistance of Eminent Men of Science. 1874. Large 12mo. pp. 714. \$3.00.

The Doctrine of Evolution: Its Data, its Principles, its Speculations, and its Theistic Bearings. By Alexander Winchell, LL. D., Chancellor of Syracuse University, author of "Sketches of Creation," "Geological Charts," etc. etc. 1874. 12mo. pp. 148. \$1.00.

The Office and Duty of the Christian Pastor. By Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. George's Church, New York. 1874. 12mo. pp. 178. \$1.25.

Armada. A novel. By Wilkie Collins, author of "The Woman in White," "Poor Miss Finch," etc. With Illustrations. 1874. 8vo. pp. 657. \$1.50.

No Name. A novel. By Wilkie Collins. With Illustrations. 1874. 8vo. pp. 609. \$1.50.

Ninety-Three. By Victor Hugo. Author of "Toilers of the Sea," "Les Misérables," etc. Translated by Frank Lee Benedict. 1874. 8vo. pp. 356. \$1.75; paper, 75 cents.

Phineas Redux. A novel. By Anthony Trollope, author of "The Warden," "Barchester Towers," "Phineas Finn," etc. Illustrated. 1874. 8vo. pp. 255. \$1.75.

- The Queen of Hearts. A novel. By Wilkie Collins, author of "The Dead Secret," "The Moonstone," etc. etc. With Illustrations. 1874. 8vo. pp. 472. \$1.50.
- Five Minute Chats with Young Women, and Certain Other Parties. By Dio Lewis, author of "Our Girls," etc. etc. 1874. 12mo. pp. 426. \$1.50.
- The Heart of Africa. Three years' travels and adventures in the unexplored regions of Central Africa, from 1868 to 1871. By Dr. Georg Schweinfurth. Translated by Ellen E. Frewer. With an Introduction by Winwood Reade. With Maps and Wood-cut Illustrations. 1874. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 559 and 521. \$7.00.
- John Worthington's Name. A novel. By Frank Lee Benedict, author of "My Daughter Elinor," "Miss Van Kortland," etc. 1874. 8vo. pp. 197. \$1.50. Paper, \$1.00.
- Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands. By Charles Nordhoff, author of "California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence," etc. etc. 1874. 8vo. pp. 266. \$2.50.
- A Fast Life on the Modern Highway; being a glance into the railroad world from a new point of view. By Joseph Taylor. With numerous Illustrations. 1874. 12mo. pp. 220. \$1.00.
- Pet; or Pastimes and Penalties. By the Rev. H. R. Haweis, M. A. With fifty Illustrations by M. E. Haweis. 1874. 12mo. pp. 314. \$1.50.
- The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland; with a View of the Primary Causes and Movements of the Thirty Years' War. By John Lothrop Motley, D. C. L., LL. D. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 389 and 475. \$7.00.
- Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873. History, Essays, Orations, and other Documents of the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, held in New York, October 2-12, 1873. Edited by Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D., and Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D. D. 8vo. pp. 773. \$6.00; sheep, \$7.00; half calf, \$8.50.
- My Miscellanies. By Wilkie Collins, author of "Woman in White," etc. etc. With a portrait. 1874. 12mo. pp. 426. \$1.50.
- Under the Trees. By Samuel Irenæus Prime. 1874. 12mo. pp. 313. \$2.00.
- Harper's Catalogue. 1874. 8vo. pp. 283.
- Miss Moore. A Tale for Girls. By Georgiana M. Craik, author "The Cousin from India," "Mildred," etc. Illustrated. 1874. 16mo. pp. 235. 90 cents.
- My Mother and I. A Novel. By Miss Mulock (Mrs. Craik), author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Illustrated. 12mo. pp. 277. \$1.50.

Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York.

- The Superhuman Origin of the Bible Inferred from Itself. By Henry Rogers, author of the "Eclipse of Faith." 1874. 8vo. pp. 465. \$2.00.
- Modern Doubt and Christian Belief. A Series of Apologetic Lectures addressed to Earnest Seekers after Truth. By Theodore Christlieb, D.D., University Preacher and Professor of Theology at Bonn. Translated, with the author's sanction, chiefly by the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, Ph. D., and edited by the Rev. T. L. Kingsbury, M. A. 1874. Crown 8vo. pp. 549. \$3.00.
- Curtius' History of Greece. Translated by Adolphus William Ward, M. A. Vol. IV. 1874. Crown 8vo. pp. 530. \$2.50.
- What is Darwinism? By Charles Hodge, Princeton, N. J. 1874. 12mo. pp. 178. \$1.50.
- A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. By John Peter Lange, D. D., assisted by a number of Eminent European Divines. The Revelation of St. John. Translated from the German by Evelina Moore. Enlarged and Edited by E. R.

- Craven, D. D., Pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church at Newark, N. J. With Index to all the ten volumes of New Testament by John H. Woods, A. M. Vol. X of New Testament. 1874. 8vo. pp. 446. \$5.00, cloth.
- Forgiveness and Law, Grounded in Principles Interpreted by Human Analogies. By Horace Bushnell. 1874. 8vo. pp. 256. \$1.75.
- Hymns of Song and Praise for Public and Social Worship. Edited by Roswell D. Hitchcock, Zachary Eddy, Philip Schaff. pp. 597. \$2.50.

Robert Carter & Brothers, New York.

- The Period of the Reformation, 1517 to 1648. By Ludwig Häusser. Edited by Wilhelm Oncken, Professor of History at the University of Giessen. Translated by Mrs. G. Sturge. 1874. 12mo. pp. 702. \$2.50.
- A Lawyer Abroad: What to See and How to See. By Henry Day, of the Bar of New York. 1874. 12mo. pp. 348. \$2.00.
- The Gospel and its Fruits. A Book for the Young. By J. H. Wilson, M. A., Barclay Church, Edinburgh. 1872. 16mo. pp. 312. \$1.25.
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- From the Plow to the Pulpit. 16mo. pp. 121. 75 cents.
- Crossing the River. By the author of "The Memorials of Captain Headley Vicars," etc. Fifth thousand. 16mo. pp. 119. 35 cents.
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- Cassy. By Hesba Stratton. Author of "Bede's Charity," "Max Kromer," "Lost Gip," etc. etc. 16mo. pp. 236. \$1.00.
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- Prayer, and the Prayer Gauge. By Mark Hopkins, D. D. 16mo. pp. 48. 75 cents.
- Fetich in Theology; or, Doctrinalism twin to Ritualism. By John Miller. Princeton, N. J. 1874. 12mo. pp. 261. \$1.75.

Ivison, Blakeman & Taylor, New York and Chicago.

- Outlines of History Illustrated by Numerous Geographical and Historical Notes and Maps. Embracing Part I, Ancient History; Part II, Modern History. By Marcus Willson. School Edition. 1872. 8vo. pp. 562. \$1.50.

D. Appleton & Co., New York.

- The Pentateuch, in its Progressive Revelations of God to Men. Designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D. D. 1874. 8vo. pp. 414. \$2.25.

Hurd & Houghton, New York.

- Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D. D., Missionary of the Church of England in Connecticut, and first President of King's College, New York. By E. Edwards Beardsley, D. D., Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven. Second edition. 1874. Royal 8vo. pp. 380. \$3.50.
- First Steps in General History. A suggestive outline. By Arthur Gilman, M. A., author of "First Steps in English Literature," "Seven Historic Ages," etc. 1874. 16mo. pp. 385. \$1.50.
- Mose Evans: a Simple Statement of the Singular Facts of His Case. By William M. Baker, author of "Inside, a Chronicle of Secession," "The New Timothy," etc. 1874. 12mo. pp. 317. \$1.50.

Wilson, Hinkle & Co., Cincinnati and New York.

Manual of the Constitution of the United States, designed for the instruction of American youth in the duties, obligations, and rights of citizenship. By Israel Ward Andrews, D. D., President of Marietta College. 8vo. pp. 370. \$2.00.

J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

History of the Conquest of Peru; With a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas. By Wm. H. Prescott. New and revised edition. Edited by John Foster Kirk. In two volumes. Vol. I. 1874. 12mo. pp. 510. \$2.25.

T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia.

Victor's Triumph. The Sequel to "A Beautiful Fiend." By Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth. 12mo. pp. 348. \$1.75.

Lee & Shepard, Boston.

Prophetic Voices Concerning America. A Monograph. By Charles Sumner. 1874. 8vo. pp. 176. \$2.00.

The Secret of Christianity. By S. S. Hibberd. 1874. 12mo. pp. 210. \$1.25.

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Life of Charles Sumner. By Jeremiah Chaplin and J. D. Chaplin. With an Introduction by Hon. William Claflin. 1874. 12mo. pp. 504. \$1.50.

American Tract Society, Boston.

Finding His Footprints. By Sophie E. Eastman. 1874. 18mo. pp. 148. 75 cents.

Hannah's Vow; or, Hallowed Motherhood. By the Rev. Darwin Chichester. 32mo. pp. 160. \$1.00.

The Revision of the English Version of the Bible. By Dorus Clarke, D. D. 18mo. pp. 70. 50 cents.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

A Brief Narrative of the Hutchinson Family. Sixteen Sons and Daughters of the "Tribe of Jesse." By "Joshua." Lee & Shepard. 35 cents.

A Summer Vacation. Four Sermons. By Rev. Edward E. Hale. 1874. Roberts Brothers. 50 cents.

Boston University Year Book. Edited by The University Council. Vol. I. 1874. H. O. Houghton & Co.: The Riverside Press.

The Riverside Bulletin. A Record of Publications and Spectator in Literary Matters. Vol. III. 1873. Issued monthly by Hurd & Houghton, New York.

Typographic Messenger. A Quarterly Magazine of the Typographic Art. New York: James Conner's Sons. Vol. IV. No. 1. \$1.00 per annum.

Commentary on the New Testament, designed for Christian Workers. By Rev. Lyman Abbott. Matthew, chapters XIII to XXII. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 25 cents.

The Philanthropies. The Practical Workings of Christianity. By Rev. J. U. Parsons. Revised by E. N. Kirk, D. D. First edition. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1 Somerset Street. 1874. 40 cents.

The Tribune Extras. An Illustrated Library for \$1.00.

The Tribune Almanac for 1874. Price 20 cents.

EDITORS' TABLE.

OUR present number is enlarged much beyond its legitimate proportions, nearly every article having exceeded its anticipated limits. It seemed impossible to do justice to so long and conspicuous a life as that of Dr. Storrs in less space than is here given to it. It was necessary to devote a large number of pages to the article on the English Commonwealth in order to conclude this elaborate monograph in the present volume. The graceful sketch of Dr. Watts and his Hymns serves to give a pleasing variety. The trenchant review of Dr. Waddington's historical work could not appropriately be delayed; and the *resumé* of the Brooklyn Council, written by a member of the Church of the Pilgrims, in Brooklyn, while valuable for future reference, is of peculiar interest at the present time. We could not yield entirely any of our regular departments of Necrology, Literary Review, and The Quarterly Record; and space for the annual exposition of the work of the American Congregational Association and of the American Congregational Union has uniformly been given in our July number. Thus the unusual size of our present issue seemed a necessity.

We ask the indulgence of publishers who have sent us their books in generous numbers. The crowded state of our columns has obliged us to limit unduly our Literary Review. We will endeavor to devote more space to this department in our next issue. Our subscribers being now furnished with some thirty pages extra, will be satisfied, we trust, if our October number shall fall short of its usual dimensions.

It is with sadness that we call attention to the unprecedented number of deaths embraced in our Record. The fresh-made graves of our brethren in all parts of our land send forth a refrain of warning and of promise.

Any book noticed in our Literary Review, or included in our list of Books Received, may be obtained by sending the price named to M. H. Sargent, Treasurer, Congregational House, Boston. The books will be forwarded, without expense to the purchasers, by mail, post-paid.

QUARTERLY RECORD.

CHURCHES FORMED.

1874.

ALLIANCE, O., March 25, 40 members.
 BARTLETT STATION, Ill., May 22, 19 members.
 BEAR GROVE, Io., March 22, 11 members.
 BREMEN, Ind., 10 members.
 CEDAR SPRINGS, Mich., May 10, 12 members.
 CLIMAX, Mich., May 6, 24 members.
 CORINTH, Kan., March, 29 members.
 CRETE, Neb., Feb. 1.
 FALLS VILLAGE, Attleboro', Mass., March 31, 24 members.
 FRANKLIN, Mich.
 GILROY, Cal., April 19.
 LIMESTONE, Kan., March 1, 7 members.
 MIDLAND, Io., April 19, 10 members.
 MOUNTAIN LAKE, Mich., May 10, 6 members.
 NEW ORLEANS, La., May 3, 18 members.
 NORTH LEOMINSTER, Mass., May 6, 46 members.
 NORWICH, Ct., Park Ch., April 28, 138 members.
 OAKLAND, Cal., Plymouth Ave. Ch., April 16, 38 members.
 OLIVE, Mich., 10 members.
 PARIS, Tex., 10 members.
 PIGEON COVE, Mass., May, 19 members.
 PRATTSVILLE, Mich.
 ROBINSON, Mich., March 18, 8 members.
 ROCKVILLE, Mass., April 14, 42 members.
 SHERMAN, Tex., 12 members.
 STANTON, Mich., March 8, 23 members.
 WEST SOMERVILLE, Mass., April 14, 52 members.
 WORCESTER, Mass., Tabernacle Ch., April 7.
 VOLNEY, N. Y.

MINISTERS ORDAINED.

1874.

ALLEN, FREDERICK H., to the work of the Ministry in Enfield, Ct., April 24. Sermon by Rev. Nathaniel J. Burton, D. D., of Hartford. Ordaining prayer by Rev. William Thompson, D. D., of Hartford Seminary.
 ALLWORTH, JOHN, over the Ch. in Bowmansville, Ont., March 10.
 BLAKELY, JOSIAH B., to the work of the Ministry in Menasha, Wis., April 16. Sermon by Rev. William E. Merriman, of Ripon College.
 CRANE, H. K., to the work of the Ministry in Goodrich, Mich., March 4. Sermon by Rev. Ward I. Hunt, of Ohio. Ordaining prayer by Rev. James L. Crane, of Bedford.
 DOLE, CHARLES F., over the Plymouth Ch. in Portland, Me., April 22. Sermon by Rev. George W. Field, D. D., of Bangor. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Wooster Parker, of Belfast.
 DONALDSON, LEVI J., to the work of the Ministry in Oberlin, O., Feb. 4. Sermon by Rev. Robert D. Miller, of West Newbury, Vt.

FITZ, EDWARD S., over the Ch. in Southampton, Mass., May 20. Sermon by Rev. Gordon Hall, D. D., of Northampton. Ordaining prayer by Rev. John H. Bisbee, of Huntington.
 GORDON, THOMAS, to the work of the Ministry in Findlay, O., May 19. Sermon by Rev. Horatio N. Burion, of Sandusky.
 GRIFFITH, THOMAS H., to the work of the Ministry in Potsdam Junction, N. Y., April 2. Sermon by Rev. George B. Rowley, of Norfolk. Ordaining prayer by Rev. David K. Pangborn, of Crary's Mills.
 HATHAWAY, A. J., over the Ch. in Climax, Mich., May 6. Sermon by Rev. William B. Williams, of Chenoa, Ill.
 HUME, ROBERT A., to the work of the Ministry in New Haven, Ct., May 10. Sermon by Rev. Theodore D. Woolsey, D. D., of New Haven. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., of Yale Seminary.
 IRWIN, C. S., to the work of the Ministry in Anita, Io., April 12. Sermon by Rev. Joseph W. Pickett, of Des Moines. Ordaining prayer by Rev. J. W. Peet, of Fontanelle.
 JAMES, ELIJAH, to the work of the Ministry in Fox Lake, Wis., March 31. Sermon by Rev. Lorenzo J. White, of Ripon. Installing prayer by Rev. John J. Mier, of Beaver Dam.
 KINNE, GEORGE W., over the Ch. in Charlestown, N. H., April 29. Sermon by Rev. Robert P. Stanton, of Greenville, Ct. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Benjamin Labaree, D. D., of West Roxbury, Mass.
 LAMB, WILLIAM A., to the work of the Ministry in Rockville, Mass., April 14. Sermon by Rev. John L. Taylor, D. D., of Andover Seminary. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Henry B. Hooker, D. D., of Boston.
 MATTHIEU, —, to the work of the Ministry in Montreal, Que., Feb. 2. Ordaining prayer by Rev. J. Frazer, of Montreal.
 PARKHURST, CHARLES H., over the Ch. in Lenox, Mass., May 14. Sermon by Rev. Samuel T. Scelye, D. D., of Easthampton. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Nahum Gale, D. D., of Lee.
 SCHOFIELD, WILLIAM, over the Ch. in Worcester, Vt., Feb. 24. Sermon by Rev. Charles W. Clark, of Gayssville. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Jonathan Copeland, of Augusta, Kan.
 VESSOT, —, to the work of the Ministry in Montreal, Que., Feb. 2. Ordaining prayer by Rev. J. Frazer, of Montreal.

MINISTERS INSTALLED.

1874.

ATKINSON, Rev. J. D., over the Ch. in West Concord, N. H., May 6.

COIT, Rev. JOSHUA, over the Lawrence St. Ch. in Lawrence, Mass., May 13. Sermon by Rev. Edward S. Atwood, of Salem. Installing prayer by Rev. Charles Smith, of Andover.

COLWELL, Rev. H. J., over the Ch. in Randolph, Vt., April 8. Sermon by Rev. Samuel W. Dike, of West Randolph. Installing prayer by Rev. Lucius R. Eastman, of Boston, Mass.

DASCOMB, Rev. ALFRED B., over the Ch. in Winchester, Mass., March 4. Sermon by Rev. Jacob M. Manning, D. D., of Boston. Installing prayer by Rev. Albert H. Plumb, of Boston Highlands.

DICKERMAN, Rev. GEORGE S., over the Pine St. Ch. in Lewiston, Me., March 12. Sermon by Rev. Edward Hawes, of New Haven, Ct. Installing prayer by Rev. Josiah T. Hawes, of Litchfield.

DUDLEY, Rev. HORACE F., over the Ch. in Warsaw, N. Y., Feb. 24. Sermon by Rev. Edward Taylor, D.D., of Binghamton. Installing prayer by Rev. J. E. Nassau, D. D., of Warsaw.

DUDLEY, Rev. MYRON S., over the Ch. in Cromwell, Ct., Feb. 23. Sermon by Rev. John G. Davenport, of Bridgeport. Installing prayer by Rev. Andrew C. Denison, of Middlefield.

EBBS, Rev. EDWARD, over the Ch. in Plainfield, Ill., Feb. 25. Installing prayer by Rev. Norman A. Prentiss, of Aurora.

EMERSON, Rev. THOMAS A., over the Ch. in Braintree, Mass., May 7. Sermon by Rev. Jacob M. Manning, D. D., of Boston. Installing prayer by Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

FIELD, Rev. ARTEMAS C., over the Ch. in Wilmington, Vt., April 22. Sermon by Rev. Nathaniel Mighill, of Brattleboro'. Installing prayer by Rev. Levi G. Chase, of Dummerston.

HAMILTON, Rev. JOHN A., over the Ch. in Norwalk, Ct., April 8. Sermon by Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y. Installing prayer by Rev. Benjamin J. Relyea, of Green's Farms, Westport.

HEIRICK, Rev. JOHN R., D. D., over the Ch. in South Hadley, Mass., April 16. Sermon by Rev. Julius H. Seelye, D. D., of Amherst College. Installing prayer by Rev. Rowland Ayres, of Hadley.

MESERVE, Rev. ISAAC C., over the Davenport Ch. in New Haven, Ct., May 7. Sermon by Rev. Nathaniel J. Burton, D. D., of Hartford.

MOORE, Rev. HENRY D., over the Ch. in Springfield, Ill., ——. Sermon by Rev. Truman M. Post, D. D., of St. Louis, Mo. Installing prayer by Rev. Julian M. Sturtevant, D. D., of Illinois College.

OLDS, Rev. HENRY A., over the Ch. in West Dover, Vt., April 23. Sermon by Rev. Charles H. Merrill, of West Brattleboro'. Installing prayer by Rev. A. B. Emmons, of Stratton.

PIERCE, Rev. WEBSTER K., over the Ch. in Brimfield, Mass., April 30. Sermon by Rev. H. Allen Shorey, of Spencer.

SEARLE, Rev. RICHARD T., over the South Ch. in Windsor, Vt., March 4. Sermon by Rev. Asa D. Smith, D. D., of

Dartmouth College. Installing prayer by Rev. L. Henry Cobb, of Springfield.

SMITH, Rev. EDWARD A., over the 1st Ch. in Farmington, Ct., May 5. Sermon by Rev. Richard G. Greene, of Springfield, Mass. Installing prayer by Rev. Samuel G. Buckingham, D. D., of Springfield, Mass.

TREAT, Rev. CHARLES R., over the 2d Ch. in Greenwich, Ct., Feb. 24. Sermon by Rev. Selah B. Treat, of Boston, Mass. Installing prayer by Rev. Edward Rankin, D. D., of Fairfield.

WELLMAN, Rev. JOSHUA W., D. D., over the Church in Malden, Mass., March 25. Sermon by Rev. Edmund K. Alden, D. D., of South Boston. Installing prayer by Rev. Albert G. Bale, of Melrose.

WEST, Rev. ROBERT, over the Ch. of the Redeemer in Alton, Ill., April 21. Sermon by Rev. G. W. Bannum, of Bunker Hill. Installing prayer by Rev. Martin K. Whittlesey, of Jacksonville.

MINISTERS DISMISSED.

1874.

BANKS, Rev. GEORGE W., from the Ch. in Bethlehem, Ct.

BRIANT, Rev. S. INGERSOLL, from the Ch. in Sharon, Mass., March 25.

BROOKS, Rev. WILLIAM E., from the Ch. in Clinton, Ct., April 21.

BROWN, Rev. A. B., from the Ch. in Lockport, Ill.

BRYANT, Rev. ALBERT, from the Ch. in Everett, Mass., May 13.

COBB, Rev. L. HENRY, from the Ch. in Springfield, Vt., May 3.

COBB, Rev. SOLOM, from the Mystic Ch. in Medford, Mass., May 10.

DANA, Rev. MALCOLM MCG., from the 2d Ch. in Norwich, Ct., April 10.

DANFORTH, Rev. JAMES R., from the Central Ch. in Newtonville, Mass., April 15.

EDWARDS, Rev. JONATHAN, from the Ch. in Dedham, Mass., April 13.

EMERSON, Rev. RUFUS, from the Ch. in Granby, Mass., April 23.

EWELL, Rev. JOHN L., from the Ch. in Clinton, Io., May 13.

HAMLIN, Rev. CYRUS, from the Ch. in Bellows Falls, Vt., March 25.

HIDDEN, Rev. EPHRAIM N., from the 1st Ch. in Middleboro', Mass.

MESERVE, Rev. ISAAC C., from the State St. Ch. in Brooklyn, N. Y., April 20.

PLUMB, Rev. JOSEPH C., from the Ch. in Fort Scott, Kan., May 20.

RICHARDSON, Rev. GILBERT B., from the Ch. in Cumberland, Me., April 22.

STONE, Rev. CLARENDON A., from the Ch. in Southville, Mass., March 19.

WEBB, Rev. WILSON D., from the Ch. in Rosendale, Wis.

WEIT, Rev. JOHN E., from the 3d Ch. in Leavenworth, Kan., April 14.

WHEELOCK, Rev. EDWIN, from the Ch. in Cambridge, Vt., April 15.

WILLETT, Rev. MAHLON, from the Ch. in La Moille, Ill., March 10.

WINES, Rev. C. MAURICE, from the 4th Ch. in Hartford, Ct., March 30.

MINISTERS MARRIED.

1874.

- ALLEN—DENNIS. Rev. A. Barker Allen, of Alpena, Mich., to Miss H. P. Dennis, of Olivet.
- CASE—CHURCH. In Milwaukee, Wis., March 17, Rev. Albert Case, of Wauwatosa, to Mrs. Eliza Church, of Buffalo, N. Y.
- DAVIS—ROUNDS. In Hiram, Me., May 11, Rev. R. Henry Davis, of Hiram, to Miss Frances W. Rounds, of Lynn, Mass.
- FRARY—PARKER. In Dunbarton, N. H., May 12, Rev. Lucien H. Frary, of Middleton, Mass., to Miss Louise Parker, of Dunbarton.
- FRY—LAWRENCE. In Oberlin, O., May 19, Rev. H. B. Fry, of Claridon, to Miss Eliza C. Lawrence, of Gates City, Ill.
- KIMBALL—KING. In Suffield, Ct., April 15, Rev. James P. Kimball, of Haydenville, Mass., to Miss Jennie King, of Suffield.
- MCLELLAND—CLARKE. In Mount Jackson, Pa., Feb. 27, Rev. Page F. McClelland, of Chase, Mich., to Miss Mary M. Clarke, of Mount Jackson.
- PARK—EDWARDS. In Andover, Mass., March 4, Rev. William E. Park, of Lawrence, to Miss Sarah B. Edwards, of Andover.
- WIEN—VAUGHN. In New Sweden, Me., April 1, Rev. Andrew Wiern, of New Sweden, to Miss Abia A. Vaughn, of Caribou.
- WRIGHT—CARPENTER. Feb. 23, Rev. Albert O. Wright, of New Lisbon, Wis., to Mrs. Sarah Carpenter.

MINISTERS DECEASED.

1872.

- PIERCE, Rev. JOHN W., in Highgate, Vt., March 2, aged 60 years.

1873.

- SHANKS, Rev. PHILIP, Queensland, Australia, Nov.

1874.

- ATWATER, Rev. WILLIAM W., in New Haven, Ct., March 15, aged 50 years.
- BALKAM, Rev. URIAH, D. D., in Lewiston, Me., March 4, aged 62 years.
- BRIGHTAM, Rev. WILLARD, in Winchendon, Mass., March 2, aged 61 years.
- COGSWELL, Rev. NATHANIEL, in Yarmouth, Mass., March 26, aged 78 years.
- DUNCAN, Rev. ABEL G., in Hanover, Mass., April 23, aged 71 years.
- DUNNING, Rev. EDWARD O., in New Haven, Ct., March 23, aged 63 years.
- FOLLETT, Rev. WALTER, in Hannibal, Mo., Feb. 14, aged 75 years.
- GILBERT, Rev. EDWIN R., in Wallingford, Ct., April 17, aged 60 years.
- GREEN, Rev. BEILAH, in Whitestown, N. Y., May 4, aged 80 years.
- HAVEN, Rev. JOSEPH, D. D., in Chicago, Ill., May 23, aged 58 years.

- HURLBURT, Rev. JOSEPH, in Fort Atkinson, Io., April 5, aged 81 years.
- JEWETT, Rev. MERRICK A., D. D., in Texas, April 3, aged 75 years.
- JUDSON, Rev. PHILO, in Hartford, Ct., March 12, aged 90 years.
- KEENE, Rev. LUTHER, in Franklin, Mass., April 17, aged 43 years.
- KEEF, Rev. JOHN, in Stockbridge, Wis., April 24, aged 65 years.
- KIRK, Rev. EDWARD N., D. D., in Boston, Mass., March 27, aged 71 years.
- MANWELL, Rev. BENJAMIN F., in Lawler, Io., Feb. 24, aged 43 years.
- MARSH, Rev. SAMUEL, in Underhill, Vt., April 1, aged 77 years.
- MARVIN, Rev. ELIHU P., D. D., in Wellesley, Mass., May 10, aged 55 years.
- MCLAIN, Rev. JOSHUA M., in Mosquito Valley, Cal., Feb. 1, aged 47 years.
- MERRILL, Rev. ORVILLE W., in Lincoln, Neb., March 11, aged 47 years.
- MORRILL, Rev. JOHN, in Pecatonica, Ill., March 16, aged 77 years.
- NEWMAN, Rev. CHARLES, in South Egremont, Mass., May 19, aged 43 years.
- NEWTON, Rev. JAMES H., in Maroa, Ill., April 5, aged 62 years.
- PARSONS, Rev. JOHN U., in Wellesley, Mass., May 21, aged 58 years.
- PERKINS, Rev. JAMES W., in New Chester, Wis., April, aged 70 years.
- STEPHENS, Rev. JOHN L., in Ahualuco, Mexico, March 2, aged 27 years.
- TENNEY, Rev. THOMAS, in Plymouth, Io., May, aged 77 years.
- TRACY, Rev. JOSEPH, D. D., in Beverly, Mass., March 24, aged 80 years.
- WHITE, Rev. JAMES S., in Marshall, Mich., April 3.

MINISTERS' WIVES DECEASED.

1874.

- BINGHAM, Mrs. —, wife of Rev. Egbert B., in Rockville, Ct., May 3, aged 23 years.
- BLAGDEN, Mrs. MIRIAM P., wife of Rev. George W., D. D., in Boston, Mass., April 26, aged 68 years.
- BULL, Mrs. O. C. B., wife of Rev. Richard B., in West Brookfield, Mass., March 11.
- COLBURN, Mrs. RUTH C., wife of the late Rev. Samuel W., in Boston (Dorchester District), Mass., May 21, aged 88 years.
- CURTICE, Mrs. —, wife of Rev. Corban, in Tilton, N. H., May 7.
- HOBART, Mrs. SARAH A., wife of the late Rev. Caleb, in Freeport, Me., April 28, aged 71 years.
- JUDSON, Mrs. HATTIE A., wife of Rev. Sylvanus, in Sylvania, O., Feb. 17, aged 41 years.
- LYMAN, Mrs. MARY, wife of Rev. Horace, in Forest Grove, Or.
- PIERSON, Mrs. ANNIE L., wife of Rev. William H., in North Somerville, Mass., April 9, aged 33 years.
- RANNEY, Mrs. CHARLOTTE, wife of Rev. Timothy E., in North Troy, Vt., Feb. 18.
- SMITH, Mrs. CELIA E., wife of Rev. Hinds, in Charlestown, O., March 1.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

BUSINESS MEETING.

THE Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the American Congregational Association (agreeably to notice in the *Congregationalist*) was held in Pilgrim Hall, May 26, 1874, at 12 M.

In the absence of the President and Recording Secretary, Rev. Rufus Anderson, D. D., was chosen Chairman, and Rev. Isaac P. Langworthy, Recording Secretary, *pro tem*. Prayer was offered by Rev. Henry B. Hooker, D. D.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved. The reports of the Directors, of the Library Committee, and of the Treasurer, were read, accepted, and referred to the Directors for publication at their discretion, after which the following officers were chosen for the ensuing year:—

President.

HON. EDWARD S. TOBEY, Boston.

Vice-Presidents.

HON. WILLIAM W. THOMAS, Portland, Me.
Rev. NATHANIEL BOUTON, D. D., Concord, N. H.
Rev. HARVEY D. KITCHEL, D. D., Middlebury, Vt.
Rev. RUFUS ANDERSON, D. D., Boston, Mass.
Rev. JACOB IDE, D. D., Medway, Mass.
Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D. D., Worcester, Mass.
Hon. SAMUEL WILLISTON, Easthampton, Mass.
Rev. THOMAS SHEPARD, D. D., Bristol, R. I.
Hon. AMOS C. BARSTOW, Providence, R. I.
Rev. LEONARD BACON, D. D., New Haven, Conn.
Hon. WILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM, Norwich, Conn.
Hon. CALVIN DAY, Hartford, Conn.
Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D. D., New York City.
Rev. RAY PALMER, D. D., New York City.
Rev. WM. IVES BUDINGTON, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. ISRAEL W. ANDREWS, D. D., Marietta, O.
Rev. SAMUEL WOLCOTT, D. D., Cleveland, O.
Rev. NATHANIEL A. HYDE, Indianapolis, Ind.
Rev. JULIAN M. STURTEVANT, D. D., Jacksonville, Ill.
Rev. SAMUEL C. BARTLETT, D. D., Chicago, Ill.
Hon. CHARLES G. HAMMOND, Chicago, Ill.
A. FINCH, Esq., Milwaukee, Wis.
Rev. WILLIAM E. MERRIMAN, Ripon, Wis.

Rev. TRUMAN M. POST, D. D., St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. WILLIAM SALTER, D. D., Burlington, Iowa.
Rev. GEORGE MOOAR, D. D., Oakland, Cal.
Rev. HENRY WILKES, D. D., Montreal, Canada.

Directors.

Hon. EDWARD S. TOBEY, Boston.	JAMES P. MELLEDGE, Esq., Cambridge.
JOHN FIELD, Esq., Arlington.	Hon. RUFUS S. FROST, Chelsea.
Rev. ALONZO H. QUINT, D. D., New Bedford.	J. RUSSELL BRADFORD, Esq., Boston.
EZRA FARNSWORTH, Esq., Boston.	S. D. WARREN, Esq., Boston.
Rev. H. M. DEXTER, D. D., Boston.	DAVID N. SKILLINGS, Esq., Winchester.
HENRY D. HYDE, Esq., Boston.	Rev. N. G. CLARK, D. D., Boston.
Rev. JOHN O. MEANS, D. D., Boston.	RICHARD H. STEARNS, Esq., Boston.

Treasurer.

SAMUEL T. SNOW, Esq., Boston.

Corresponding Secretary, Librarian, and Assistant Treasurer.

REV. ISAAC P. LANGWORTHY, Chelsea.

Recording Secretary.

REV. DANIEL P. NOYES, Pigeon Cove.

Auditor.

JOSEPH N. BACON, Esq., Newton.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

ISAAC P. LANGWORTHY,

Rec. Sec. pro tem.

THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
American Congregational Association.

AMONG the principal events of the year now closing, the Directors of the American Congregational Association wish, briefly, to present the following in this their twenty-first Annual Report.

At the last anniversary the Congregational House was essentially finished, as originally intended, except the Library, and nearly all of its available rooms were occupied. It has been the earnest purpose of the Building Committee to make every part of this edifice contribute its fair proportion of an indispensable income; and it is believed that a reasonable measure of success has been realized. Suitable tenants for the two large rooms on the second floor, at anything like fair rents, have not yet been found. Number thirty-two has been appropriated by the American Education Society, so that now all the Congregational benevolent societies, having offices in Boston, are to be found under one roof, greatly to their own convenience and to the even greater convenience of their respective constituencies. It is gratifying to know how generally the location, arrangement, and object of the House commend themselves to the judgment and approval of Congregationalists, and that it is already exerting an influence to strengthen the bonds which unite Congregational churches in one Christian brotherhood.

The most pressing need of funds, at the beginning of this year, was for the completion of the Library building, only the shell of which was standing. A close estimate made the sum of \$25,000 an absolute necessity. To appeal to the churches for such an amount did not present a very encouraging aspect. Individuals were therefore addressed, here and there, in the hope that the whole amount might be secured in one gift.

Through the kind assistance of the Rev. M. B. Boardman, of Brimfield, and the Rev. C. M. Hyde, D. D., of Haverhill, the attention of Samuel A. Hitchcock, Esq., was drawn to the wants of the Library; and after very careful consideration he became so convinced of the importance of this object that he made the princely donation of twen-

ty-five thousand dollars, the amount then estimated as necessary to prepare the Library for occupancy. This Board gratefully recognizes the kind and gentlemanly manner in which M. W. French, Esq., of Palmer, the agent and especial friend of Mr. Hitchcock, conveyed this noble benefaction to this Association, and were pleased to learn, through him, that Mr. Hitchcock was highly gratified with the manner in which this gift was received and with the object for which it was made. He also consented to sit for his portrait, painted by W. Willard, of Sturbridge, for the Library; the last sitting for which was but a few days previous to his death, November, 1873.

In appreciation of this liberal donation, and as a token of high respect for the generous giver, this Board voted unanimously to have inscribed over the door of the Library, "HITCHCOCK HALL," by which name it is hereafter to be known. The papers which passed between Mr. Hitchcock and this Board are carefully preserved on the records and in the files of the Association.

On the reception of this gift, measures were immediately taken to hasten the finishing and fitting up of the inside of the Library. It has proved a work of greater magnitude and needing more time than many expected. When ready for dedication, due notice will be given. It is suggested that on that auspicious occasion every friend bring or send a book or books for its shelves, in imitation of the ten principal ministers of the colony of Connecticut, who associated themselves as Trustees to erect and govern a college, and then brought together a number of books, each of them saying, as he made his offering, "I give these books for founding a college in Connecticut." With such humble beginnings there has arisen one of the first and most important literary institutions of our country. Let the lovers of the principles and polity of the Pilgrims and Puritans, from respect to their memory, and with a commendable desire to secure for the present and all coming generations the best religious and historical reading, give each something in aid of this National Congregational Library.

The finances of the Association are not in all respects as prosperous as could be wished. The "panic" of last fall, the dull business which supervened, the great number of new stores in the burnt district which have been thrown upon the market, have greatly reduced rents, and the building committee have found it impossible to find occupants for the two smaller stores at any reasonable rents. The general depression has also greatly diminished expected and promised contributions. On the other hand, there have been unlooked for outlays upon the building, not of very large amounts, indeed, but

making drafts upon a not over flush treasury ; and there has also been a very large increase of the rates of insurance. These adverse changes, added to necessary running expenses and interest during the building process of nearly a year with no income, together with the city taxes of three thousand dollars for the same year, have increased our liabilities. To liquidate these, an urgent appeal must still be made to individuals and churches.

It is quite proper to state, in this connection, that the original estimate of \$100,000 for rebuilding this structure, exclusive of the inside work upon the Library, has not been exceeded, — a result not often reached in similar cases, especially where so much that was to be done could not be reduced to any basis of close calculation.

The Directors wish again to call the attention of those who are seeking objects upon which to bestow testamentary gifts to the claims of this Association. Bequests will yield a good lawful interest to these Congregational Societies in their free rents for all future time when this building is paid for. It is not apparent where an opportunity for immediate and lasting good results can be found more propitious than this.

The Directors take great pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the generous gift of a beautiful clock by B. Bradley, Esq., of this city, suspended in Pilgrim Hall ; also the gift of an excellent portrait of the late Rev. Edward N. Kirk, D. D., for the same room (painted about thirty years ago), from Mrs. Ann Eliza Safford, of this city ; also the gift of an early portrait, without frame, of the late Professor Benjamin Silliman, of New Haven, Ct., from Albert Bowker, Esq., of this city ; also two very fine steel-engraved likenesses, one of the Rev. George Whitefield, and the other of the late Rev. William M. Rogers, of this city, from Mrs. William Johnson, of Chelsea ; also a fine steel-engraved likeness of the late Rev. Isaac Braman, of Georgetown, from his widow.

It is proper to state that without especial efforts to that end, there has been a steady and no inconsiderable increase of the Library, in books, pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts, for particulars of which see report of Library Committee on page 499. For receipts of money and financial statement, see Treasurer's report, page 503.

REPORT OF LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

THE Library Committee beg leave to report that the condition of the Library is as satisfactory as can be expected in its present transition period.

Large gifts have been received during the year from the American Education Society, the American Home Missionary Society, the estates of the late Rev. Dr. Barstow, Rev. Brown Emerson, D. D., and Horace Leland, Esq., and from Rev. A. H. Clapp, D. D., and others. A valuable volume of pamphlets of an early date has also been received from the late Rev. Willard Brigham, of Winchendon.

As instructed by the Board, the committee have examined and given their general approval to the plans adopted for completing the new Library building and preparing it to receive the books.

There have been added to the Library the past year, 1,155 bound volumes and 4,548 pamphlets, giving a total of 17,035 volumes, including duplicates, and between 60,000 and 70,000 pamphlets.

When the new room shall be complete, and the Library shall be placed in position there, a more careful statement will be possible as to its size, condition, and quality than can now be made.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY M. DEXTER,
JOHN O. MEANS,
A. H. QUINT,

Committee.

BOSTON, May 18, 1874.

DONATIONS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

	Vols.	Pam.
Adams, Rev. George M., Holliston	10	17
Allen, Mrs. —, Franklin		1
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester		3
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, Newspapers		322
American Education Society, Boston	652	55
American Home Missionary Society, New York	1	14
American Missionary Association, New York	2	
Amherst College, Amherst		5
Andover Theological Seminary		2
Baker, B. F., Brookline	1	
Barrows, William, D. D., Reading		18
Barstow, Z. S., D. D., Keene, N. H., Sons of	110	537
Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.		1
Bissell, Rev. E. C., Winchester	1	
Blake, J. W., Boston	1	
Bowdler, W. A., Boston, through Thomas Green	1	670
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.		2
Boyd, John, Winchester, Ct.	1	

	Vols.	Pam.
Brigham, Rev. Willard, Winchendon	1	
Brooks, Miss Mary E., Chelsea		83
Brown, George, France, through Rev. J. DeWitt, Autograph Letter of Dr. Chalmers.		
Buck, Rev. E. A., Fall River	12	
Budington, Rev. Wm. Ives, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.	1	
Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.	1	3
Butler, Rev. Daniel, Boston	7	165
Carrington, George M., West Winsted, Ct.		1
Clapp, A. H., D. D., New York City	14	556
Clapp, J. B., Boston	3	
Congregational Publishing Society, Boston	2	
Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.		6
Dexter, H. M., D. D., Boston	18	157
Dodge, Rev. John W., Yarmouth		1
Dutch, Miss Ann M., Chelsea	4	
Ellis, Rev. T. L., Paxton		4
Emerson, Brown, D. D., Salem, Estate of	118	318
Everts, Mrs. Amanda V., Killingworth, Ct.	2	
Friend		3
Frost, Hon. R. S., Chelsea	15	8
Goldsmith, Seth, Charlestown	8	70
Green, Dr. S. A., Boston	1	72
Green, Thomas, Chelsea		4
Hardy, Hon. Alpheus, Boston	2	140
Hayes, Rev. S. H., Boston		1
Hayward, Rev. Silvanus, South Berwick, Me.		1
Hooker, H. B., D. D., Boston		69
Hull, David, Killingworth, Ct.	1	19
Iowa College, Grinnell, Io.		1
Kingman, Abner, Boston	10	172
Lane, Rev. J. P., Bristol, R. I.	2	
Langworthy, Mrs. I. P., Chelsea		17
Leland, Horace, Sutton, Estate of	75	102
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston	1	
McLean, Mrs. Mary D., Wethersfield, Ct.		16
Means, Rev. J. H., Dorchester	1	23
Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.		10
Miller, Rev. William, Killingworth, Ct.	1	
Munger, Rev. T. T., Lawrence	1	
North Church, Salem	1	
Noyes, Rev. Daniel P., Longwood	6	224
Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.		3
Ogden, Isaac, Newark, N. J.	4	
Packard, Prof. A. S., Brunswick, Me.		3
Park, Prof. E. A., D. D., Andover		2
Perkins, Augustus T., Boston	1	
Perkins, Rev. F. B., Jamaica Plain	2	
Pond, Miss Emily, Franklin		1
Pond, Rev. William C., San Francisco, Cal.	1	
Poole, W. F., Cincinnati, O.		1
Porter, Noah, D. D., New Haven, Ct.		1
Public Library, Indianapolis, Ind.	1	
Rice, Rev. C. B., Danvers		1
Richardson, C. A., Chelsea	1	
Ricker, George W., Dorchester, 1 Map	13	
Robbins, Mrs. Elizabeth W., Medway	1	
Seventh Day Advent Tract Society	2	18
Staples, S. E., Worcester		1
Stevens, Miss —, Stoneham	5	

	Vols.	Pam.
Stockwell, S. N., Boston	5	577
Taft, Henry W., Pittsfield	1	
Taylor, Dr. J. B., E. Cambridge	1	
Thornton, J. Wingate, Boston	1	1
Travis, Mrs. Abigail, Holliston	3	17
Upton, George B., Boston	1	
Vinton, Rev. J. A., Winchester	1	
Wight, Dr. D. P., Dedham		1
Williams, Thomas Hale, Minneapolis, Minn.	1	
Williams College, William-town		2
Wilson, Hon. Henry, Washington, D. C.	1	
Winthrop, Hon. R. C., Boston		1

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM CHURCHES AND INDIVIDUALS.

MAINE.

Auburn, George Little	\$10 00
" Mrs. Lucy J. Little	10 00
" Hannah L. Pickard	10 00
Camden, Rev. H. A. Shorey	5 00
Gardiner, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	15 00
Hiram, Rev. R. Henry Davis	1 00
Newcastle, Rev. John Haskell	5 00
Robbinston, Rev. George Juchau	1 00
Waterville, Rev. James Cameron	
and wife	10 00
Woolwich, Cong. Ch. and Soc., add'l	4 35
	<u>\$71 35</u>

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Acworth, Rev. N. R. Nichols	\$3 00
Concord, Judge Sylvester Dana	1 00
Deerfield, Individuals	6 00
Marlborough, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	30 68
	<u>\$40 68</u>

VERMONT.

Hartford, West, Rev. Bezaleel Smith	\$1 00
Randolph, West, Rev. S. W. Dike	2 00
Rupert, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	5 70
	<u>\$8 70</u>

MASSACHUSETTS.

Amherst, 1st Ch. and Soc.	\$21 90
Boston, Dorchester, Mrs. Joanna Means	25 00
Boston Highlands, William Eaton	5 00
" a friend	5 00
" Jordan, Lovett & Co.	37 50
" R. H. Stearns, add'l	400 00
Boxborough, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	4 00
Bridgewater, Scotland, Rev. A. J. Duncan	5 00
Brimfield, S. A. Hitchcock, Esq.	25,000 00
" Cong. Ch. and Soc.	18 30
Cambridge, Miss Eliza M. Judkins	5 00
" Fort, Samuel Palmer	4 00
Canton, Ev. Cong. Ch. and Soc.	62 22
Carlsile, " " "	5 00

Charlestown, 1st Cong. Ch. and Soc.

additional	\$100 00
Chelsea, John Taylor	50 00
" Miss A. M. Dutch	3 00
Coleraine, Rev. D. A. Strong, add'l	5 00
Dracut, West, Rev. Jos. Boardman	10 00
Dudley, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	15 00
East Braintree	2 00
Fitchburg, Mrs. A. F. Hartwell	1 00
Georgetown, 1st Ch. and Soc.	10 00
" Ort. Mem. Cong. Ch.	
and Soc.	90 11
Hubbardston, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	9 00
Lowell, Abel Whitney	25 00
Meirose, Albert Bacon Bale	1 00
Monson, A. W. Porter, add'l	500 00
" Cong. Ch. and Soc., add'l	8 00
New Bedford, Rev. William B. Hammond	1 00
Newton, 1st Ch. and Soc., add'l	250 00
Townsend, Mrs. Esther Spaulding	1 00
Wendell, Rev. B. B. Cutler	1 00
" Dea. Luke Leach	1 00
Westford, Rev. E. R. Hodgman	1 00
West Springfield, 1st Cong. and Soc.	13 00
Williamstown " " "	31 50
Winchester, Stephen A. Holt	200 00
	<u>\$26,926 53</u>

RHODE ISLAND.

Tiverton, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	\$5 00
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CONNECTICUT.

Collinsville, Cong. Ch. and Soc. add'l	\$19 05
Danbury, Mrs. Lucy A. Knight	1 00
Derby, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	8 75
Greenwich, W. A. Howe	5 00
Hartford, Daniel Phillips	250 00
Killingworth, Mrs. Amanda V. Evans	1 00
Killingworth, Miss Mary Lane	1 00
Manchester, 2d Cong. Ch. and Soc.	8 75
New Haven, Westville " "	32 00
New Preston, Rev. Henry Upson	1 59
Norwalk, 1st Ch. and Soc.	156 08
" South Ch. and Soc.	20 00

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

BUSINESS MEETING.

THE Twenty-first Annual Business Meeting of the American Congregational Union was held at the Lecture Room of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, on Thursday, May 14, at half-past three o'clock, P. M. Alfred S. Barnes, Esq., occupied the chair. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D., of New York.

A summary of the Annual Report of the Board of Trustees was presented by the Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D., one of the Corresponding Secretaries. The Treasurer read a summary of his Annual Report for the year ending May 1, 1874. On motion, it was

Voted, That the Annual Report of the Board of Trustees, and also that of the Treasurer, be accepted and published, under the direction of the Board of Trustees.

On motion, the following named gentlemen were nominated for the several offices of President, Vice-Presidents, and Trustees of the Society for the ensuing year, all of whom were duly elected.

OFFICERS FOR 1874-75.

President.

Rev. RICHARD S. STORRS, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. WM. IVES BUDINGTON, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

ALFRED S. BARNES, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. HENRY M. STORRS, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hon. BRADFORD R. WOOD, Albany, N. Y.

Rev. O. E. DAGGETT, D. D., New London, Conn.

Hon. WM. A. BUCKINGHAM, LL. D., Norwich, Conn.

Rev. EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., Andover, Mass.

Rev. MARK HOPKINS, D. D., Williamstown, Mass.

Rev. ISAAC P. LANGWORTHY, Boston, Mass.

Rev. J. M. MANNING, D. D., Boston, Mass.

Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, LL. D., Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. JOHN O. FISKE, D. D., Bath, Maine.

Rev. CYRUS W. WALLACE, D. D., Rockland, Mass.

Rev. H. D. KITCHEL, D. D., Middlebury, Vt.

Rev. C. L. GOODELL, St. Louis, Mo.

Hon. AMOS C. BARSTOW, Providence, R. I.

Rev. J. M. STURTEVANT, D. D., Jacksonville, Ill.

S. B. GOOKINS, Esq., Chicago, Ill.

Rev. JULIUS A. REED, Columbus, Neb.

Rev. GEORGE F. MAGOUN, D. D., Grinnell, Iowa.
 Rev. TRUMAN M. POST, D. D., St. Louis, Mo.
 Rev. ANDREW L. STONE, D. D., San Francisco, Cal.
 Rev. SAMUEL WOLCOTT, D. D., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Rev. GEORGE L. WALKER, D. D., New Haven, Ct.
 Rev. SAMUEL HARRIS, D. D., New Haven, Ct.
 JAMES SMITH, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hon. MARSHAL JEWELL, Hartford, Ct.
 A. S. HATCH, Esq., New York.

Trustees.

Rev. WM. IVES BUDINGTON, D. D.	Rev. GEORGE B. BACON, D. D.
Rev. DAVID B. COE, D. D.	Rev. HENRY M. SCUDDER, D. D.
Rev. ALEX. H. CLAPP, D. D.	Rev. C. H. EVEREST.
Rev. CHARLES P. BUSH, D. D.	Rev. G. B. WILLCOX.
Rev. H. Q. BUTTERFIELD, D. D.	Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D. D.
HENRY C. BOWEN, Esq.	Rev. T. J. HOLMES.
ALFRED S. BARNES, Esq.	Rev. S. B. HALLIDAY.
JAMES W. ELWELL, Esq.	Rev. GEORGE M. BOYNTON.
SAMUEL HOLMES, Esq.	Rev. WM. HAYES WARD, D. D.
JAMES H. STORRS, Esq.	S. NELSON DAVIS, Esq.
WM. HENRY SMITH, Esq.	DAVID M. STONE, Esq.
DWIGHT JOHNSON, Esq.	WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.

The meeting then adjourned.

N. A. CALKINS,

Recording Secretary.

Officers appointed by the Board of Trustees :

Chairman.

ALFRED S. BARNES, Esq.

Corresponding Secretaries.

REV. RAY PALMER, D. D., 69 Bible House, New York.
 REV. CHRISTOPHER CUSHING, D. D., 20 Cong. House, Boston.

Treasurer and Recording Secretary.

PROF. N. A. CALKINS, 69 Bible House, New York.

Counsellor.

JAMES H. STORRS, Esq.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE TRUSTEES,

MAY, 1874.

THE Trustees of the American Congregational Union avail themselves of the usual opportunity afforded by the annual meeting to make such statements as seem appropriate in relation to its work. In common with other benevolent associations, it has had to contend, during the past year, with difficulties arising out of the financial panic and the unsettled condition of the business of the country. That it has not suffered greater embarrassment may fairly be taken, we believe, as a proof that those accustomed to contribute to its funds do so from an intelligent conviction of the importance of its objects and from fixed principles of Christian action. It is encouraging to find reason to believe that the number is increasing in the churches who habitually give from love to Christ, and do not, if retrenchment becomes necessary, begin with their religious charities.

GENERAL WORK AND INFLUENCE OF THE UNION.

As in former years, many things connected with the general well-being and progress of our churches have come under the cognizance of the executive officers of the Union, and our denominational activities have received, as opportunity has offered, their sympathy and aid. The frequent personal interviews of the Secretaries with brethren from all parts of the country, together with a constant and extensive correspondence, enable them to keep themselves informed as to the general condition of the churches, and any new currents of influence, or plans of action, that may be started in any part of the great field of home evangelization; and at the same time to answer inquiries addressed to them by those remote from the centres who desire information in regard to the progress of the common cause.

As the Union commenced the arduous labor of securing the statistics of the denomination, and published the *Congregational Year-Book* from 1854 to 1859, it has kept up its interest in this subject, and sustained an official relation to the *Congregational Quarterly* from its first issue to the present time. This publication, now the organ of the Union, and issued from its office at Boston, draws largely on the time and strength of one of the Secretaries; and its importance to our denominational progress can hardly be overestimated.

The monthly meeting, at the rooms of the Union at the Bible

House, of the pastors of New York, Brooklyn, and vicinity, has lost nothing of its interest, but continues to be a bond of unity and strength. Meanwhile, the direct and special work of aiding in the erection of houses of worship has been carried steadily forward, and on this by far the greatest amount of care and labor has been bestowed. It is an undertaking the complications and difficulties of which necessarily increase as it progresses.

CHURCH-BUILDING WORK OF THE PAST YEAR.

The number of applications on the files of the Union during the past year, from churches desiring aid in erecting houses of worship, has been about eighty. Many other churches have been led to delay the commencement of their effort to build either by their poverty or by the embarrassment resulting from the failure of the crops in many parts of the West, and from the general derangement of the financial affairs of the country. It is hard, at the best, for a new settlement to raise money for church building, and in a time of general financial prostration it is nearly impossible. However urgent their need, they of necessity must wait.

The number of churches to which grants, in whole or in part, have been paid the past year, on the usual conditions, is forty-eight. This is the whole number of those that have been able to reach the point at which, all conditions being fulfilled, they could execute the usual certificate and agreement. A few more might have received the sums granted them had they so far completed their work as to be ready to draw on the Treasurer of the Union.

The churches aided during the past year are in nineteen States and Territories.

AID TO PASTORS' LIBRARIES.

The Trustees of the Union have not felt authorized to do much in aid of pastors' libraries, while the demands on the treasury for the building of churches are so urgent. They have, however, during the last year, furnished to pastors a number of copies of the *Congregational Quarterly*, the *New Englander*, and the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, on the usual conditions. As it is very desirable that the terms on which these periodicals are sent should be perfectly understood, we transfer from last year's Manual a careful statement of them, and ask particular attention to them all.

1. The offer is *not* made to those who are already subscribers, and able to take the publications for themselves.

2. The *Quarterly* will be sent to any minister not included in the

above-named class, *when he sends* a contribution of five dollars or more, and *distinctly requests it*. If a part of the year is past, the back numbers will be sent.

3. The *Bibliotheca Sacra*, or the *New Englander*, will be forwarded, if asked for, when the contribution, sent with the request, is twenty dollars or upwards. Back numbers forwarded as above.

4. Money sent to the treasurer in repayment of loans from the Union, or money paid to be made a special grant to some church named, does not entitle to the periodicals. The offer relates to money *directly given to the treasury*.

5. The periodicals cannot be sent on the *promise* that a collection *shall be* taken and forwarded during the year. It is impossible for the officers of the Union to take the responsibility of collecting bills in cases where such promises fail. The minister may change his residence, or be removed from his post by death, and no collection be taken.

We trust that these explanations will leave no room for misunderstanding, and the requests of brethren, in accordance with them, will in all cases be attended to with promptness.

In addition to the copies of the *Quarterly* furnished on these terms, the Union has sent to two hundred missionaries and other pastors a volume of the *Quarterly*, having, by the liberality of the proprietors of that publication, been enabled to do so at a comparatively trifling expense. Gladly, if they had the means, would they do more to extend the circulation of this valuable auxiliary in our denominational work, and in other ways aid pastors in securing the books needed for their intellectual advancement.

THE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF AID.

In giving aid in building houses of worship, as in every other important work, some well-defined system is indispensable to the best results. It has accordingly been the constant endeavor of the Trustees and executive officers of the Union, to lead the churches contributing to place all their contributions in the treasury of the Union, so that the *whole amount given may be divided fairly* among the needy churches. Of course, in deciding what should be given in each case, all the circumstances, such as the comparative importance of the position, the size and total cost of the house, the amount raised by the people themselves, and the prospective growth and influence of the church, are taken into account by the Board. If the Congregational churches would contribute annually, say one hundred

thousand dollars for church erection, and this were paid into one treasury to be impartially divided according to the best judgment of men who have all the cases, with all the facts, before them, everybody must see that such a course would be just to all. Considerable progress has been made towards this unity of action, but it has not yet, by any means, been fully attained.

It very often happens that when a church proposes to commence building, those who have the management of the matter lay down a programme of this sort: "Our house will cost twenty-five hundred dollars. We can raise fourteen or fifteen hundred; the Congregational Union will give us four or five hundred; and then we *must go abroad among the churches* and collect five or six hundred more." In other words, this church proposes to be *helped twice* by the contributing churches,—once through the Union and once on private application. But where are the funds needed by the Union to pay its grants to come from, if the churches it is trying to aid are all the while deranging the systematic contributions on which it must depend by making private appeals for more than their fair share? Would the contributing churches and their pastors endure it, if the one hundred churches needing aid within a year should send their pastors or agents all abroad to ask for help? Or since only a part of them can do it, is it wise for those who give to allow a few to ask and get large sums in addition to the aid of the Union, thus wronging their sister churches as needy and important as themselves? It is a plain case that private appeals are unjust to those churches which cannot make them to advantage, or which, conscientiously and in good faith, so form their plans that with the regular aid of the Union they can get through their enterprise. It is equally plain that the Union will not be able to make grants, if a large portion of the churches give, through the Union, only "specials," that is, sums to be *added* to the regular grant of the Union and not made a part of it.

The Board feel so strong a conviction that the increasing tendency of those proposing to build to depend on "specials" is unjust, and injurious to the church-building work as a whole, that they ask the particular attention of pastors and churches to the matter as above stated. They strongly hope that all will co-operate with them in giving method and unity to the great church-building enterprise. It has been, and is, the rule of the Board, that if any church proposes to make private appeals, *beyond its own immediate neighborhood and its personal friends*, it debars itself from any grant from the treasury of the Union. To this rule, so obviously just, the Board *will feel it necessary hereafter more strictly to adhere*. They have no other inter-

est in the matter than that which arises from a feeling of obligation to regard the wants and the rights of all, and to appropriate what is given as a noble Christian charity in such a way that the good intended by the generous givers may be most effectually accomplished. Hard as it may seem in particular cases, they are satisfied that it is far better that *less expensive churches* should be built, than that private appeals for additional aid should constantly be made.

A LOAN FUND COMMENCED.

While the Board are fully convinced of the soundness of the views just presented, they are well aware that there must be cases of really exceptional importance, for which it is much to be desired that the Union should be able to do more than to make the usual grant. A plan has, therefore, been adopted which it is hoped may in time establish a loan fund sufficiently large to make it possible by the loan of moderate sums, to provide for exceptional cases, so as to leave little or no occasion for private appeals. At the meeting of the Board, Nov. 11, 1873, it was voted — "That a special fund be established to be known as the 'Loan Fund' of the American Congregational Union, which fund shall be kept by the treasurer entirely distinct from the general funds of the Union; and that the said fund shall consist of donations or legacies given for this special purpose, and of sums received in trust which the Union may hereafter be called upon to pay; and also of repaid loans, or grants, that may be assigned to it by vote of the Board of Trustees."

The fund so established, as it now stands on the books of the treasurer, is about \$5,000, nearly all of which is loaned to important churches on ample security. It will be the purpose of the Board, to the extent of their power, to increase this small amount, and it is confidently hoped that Christian men and women desiring to place some portion of the property intrusted to them of God where it will permanently serve the cause of Christ and bless the world, will themselves, or through those to whom, by will, they leave the distribution of their property, make liberal additions to it. With a hundred thousand dollars to be used judiciously in making small loans, in cases where churches prefer a loan to a gift, or where the ordinary grant is insufficient, the Union would work to far greater advantage, and pastors and churches making one annual contribution for church erection would be left undisturbed by pleas for special cases. Who will help to enlarge the Loan Fund of the Union? Liberal direct donations, or at least legacies, for this purpose are greatly to be desired.

RESULTS OF EXPERIENCE.

The experience of every year supplies new illustrations of the importance of the church-building work accomplished by the Union as related to the progress of Congregational principles and the planting of free Christian churches. The waste of time and money and labor when expended at points where Christian organizations have been formed but are without places of worship, is every year demonstrated by new facts. Instances are all the while occurring in which churches that have been enabled to build by the aid afforded them have been almost immediately favored with seasons of spiritual refreshing, and both by the greater advantages of their new position and the additions to their numbers, as the fruit of revivals enjoyed, have been speedily so strengthened that they could dispense with aid from the Home Missionary Society. Every year also makes more manifest the fact that the work of church-erection might wisely, with great advantage to all concerned, be prosecuted much more vigorously than it has been hitherto, could the necessary means be furnished. If already, by the comparatively small amount of aid afforded, the number of the Congregational churches out of New England has come to exceed by several hundred the number within it, what might not be accomplished in the next ten or twenty years, could the Union have at its disposal the means of keeping fully up to the demands that are made upon it, or rather that would be made, were there sufficient encouragement to apply for help?

It is another happy result of past experience, that it abundantly justifies the confident expectation that the Union will be sustained by the churches, in the future, in the prosecution of its work. While it must be admitted that the opportunities providentially offered are greater than the zeal and liberality of the Congregational churches as a body has hitherto been sufficient to meet, there is still great reason for thankfulness and hope in view of so much that has been wisely done. It every year becomes more apparent that the Congregational Union and its work for our country are commending themselves to that class of thoughtful and conscientious givers who need only to understand that any Christian enterprise is vitally important, to awaken their hearty interest in it. The Union has received several legacies of ten thousand dollars each, with many smaller ones, and it has been notified in several cases of other bequests that are eventually to come into its treasury. An increasing confidence in its fidelity to its trust is significantly manifested in these and other ways. That it has achieved so much, notwithstand-

ing its resources have been so limited, has added materially to its power for good.

It is a thing that should by no means be overlooked, that an organization, or society, through which the churches are to carry on Christian work, *must needs be a growth*. It is a thing that cannot at once be created in full power and influence, or be developed in a day. It is by the quiet and successful effort of years, by the accomplished good it can show, that it establishes itself in the confidence of Christian people ; so that, recognized as trustworthy, after full trial, it stands approved of all. From the day of its organization the Union has, in fact, been striking down its roots, slowly but surely enlarging its sphere of influence, gathering around it historic associations, and enlisting the sympathy of Christian hearts. It should have been stimulated by more abundant prayers and more liberal contributions to a more rapid and luxuriant growth. Still it stands like a goodly tree that has brought forth much fruit and is rich in promise for the future.

CO-OPERATION OF WESTERN CHURCHES.

In most of the Western States where Congregational churches have become numerous, the General Associations appoint one of the pastors a local Secretary, whose duty it is to look after the interests of the church-building cause within his own State. These secretaries issue each year circulars to the churches reminding them of their obligations to the Union, and urging them to contribute to its funds. These appeals are direct and stirring, and coming from one who is known to those addressed, and is on the ground, are a very important and useful agency. It is hoped that the General Associations will from year to year co-operate more and more effectively with the Union ; and not content merely with the annual appointment of a State Secretary, will manifest a zeal which will encourage him in his efforts and awaken among the churches a lively interest in church-erection. If the pastors in their meetings, both in the State and District Associations, will talk over the subject among themselves, and then in their pulpits will make their churches understand and feel the necessity of sustaining the Union in its work, which is so largely for their benefit, much more than is now done may easily be accomplished. If the question were raised, Shall the Union give over the attempt to aid the young churches of the West in church-erection? the answer, we are sure, from the pastors and churches of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kan-

sas, Nebraska, Colorado, and California, would be one loud and emphatic No! But how shall it prosecute the work with vigor, if many of the stronger and established churches in those States contribute nothing to its funds? The money to be given the weak churches *must first be placed in the treasury of the Union, and East and West alike must see that it is furnished.*

THE WORK IN THE HANDS OF PASTORS.

It is an encouraging fact that in some of the States the pastors are taking hold earnestly in the effort to give system and thoroughness to the benevolent activity of the churches. They are collecting the statistics of the actual Christian work accomplished, and of the extent of the neglect to do anything, for the purpose of placing the statistics before the General Associations. This is an important step, and it may be hoped will lead to others in the same direction. What is needed in order to develop the moral power of the churches and draw out their Christian charities on a liberal scale, is *correct information* as to the progress of Christ's cause and its personal demands on them. They must *be educated up* to a clear comprehension of their obligation to bear — each individual church and each individual disciple — a part in the grand work of applying the blessed Gospel to the world for the relief of its miseries and for the elevation and salvation of men. Only the pastors can so educate them and awaken their zeal that they shall count it not only a solemn duty, but a high privilege, to share in the labors and sacrifices by which the Kingdom of Christ is to be set forward. In proportion as pastors shall faithfully present the claims of those great departments of Christian enterprise for which our churches have special organizations, will the liberality of the churches abound and the treasuries be filled. This is proved by the results in those cases where the pastors do faithfully cultivate the benevolence of their congregations. As the Congregational Union, in accordance with the wishes of the pastors, employs no agents, it feels all the more free to call earnestly on the pastors themselves to perform conscientiously and thoroughly the needed labor among their people.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS.

The very tasteful and significant certificate of life-membership will be sent to any individual contributing twenty-five dollars within one year to the funds of the Union. If a church sends a contribution, it may, by sending the name or names of one or more persons, re-

ceive certificates for as many life-memberships as the amount sent will pay for, at the rate of twenty-five dollars for each. We are glad to have a framed certificate hung up in as many Christian households as possible, to remind the members of those households of the interesting and important work of aiding to establish permanent Christian institutions, in which the Union is engaged. It may help to secure for it a place in the thoughts and the daily household prayers, to have it kept constantly in sight.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It only remains, in concluding these statements, to render thanks to the divine Lord and Master who has graciously owned and blessed our efforts on behalf of the churches that are dear to him, and to commit it to him and to those who love him, for the future. It is a great thing surely that nearly nine hundred Congregational churches have been assisted in the building of Christian sanctuaries. In most of these churches there is a regular ministration of the blessed Gospel from Sabbath to Sabbath. There are Sabbath Schools, with their libraries, their faithful teachers, and their sweet songs, and all the various connected influences that are fitted to mould and educate the children and the youth to the early knowledge and service of Christ. Christian ordinances are made permanent. Revivals of religion are enjoyed. Influences go forth from these centres that stimulate popular education, originate and sustain colleges, and operate effectively in many ways to elevate and purify civil and social life. The man or woman, who by generous gift, or by legacy, provides for the building of a single house of worship, is a benefactor to the country and to the world. For the tide of population that year by year sweeps on, provision cannot be made too soon. There is need of a warmer, more enthusiastic, and more general interest throughout the Congregational churches from Maine to California. May the Divine Spirit so stir the hearts of many who have it in their power to give, that they shall count it a privilege to help the Union in the blessed effort to fill the new States and Territories with Christian institutions.

RAY PALMER,
CHRISTOPHER CUSHING,
Secretaries.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT.

*American Congregational Union, in account with N. A. CALKINS,
Treasurer.*

Cr.

1874.	By Balance in Treasury May 1, 1873	\$5,859.55
May 1.	" Contributions received	
	from California	\$526.51
	" Colorado Territory	9.20
	" Connecticut	4,514.47
	" Georgia	100.00
	" Illinois	3,384.10
	" Indiana	9.00
	" Iowa	1,154.06
	" Kansas	781.15
	" Louisiana	20.85
	" Maine	220.10
	" Maryland	85.41
	" Massachusetts	28,218.58
	" Michigan	2,101.57
	" Minnesota	458.53
	" Missouri	694.56
	" Nebraska	54.70
	" Nevada	10.00
	" New Hampshire	1,177.87
	" New Jersey	410.01
	" New York	5,731.92
	" Ohio	5,925.93
	" Oregon	3.25
	" Pennsylvania	6,228.50
	" Rhode Island	501.77
	" Vermont	928.23
	" Wisconsin	1,064.54
	By Interest on Funds in Trust Co.	286.64
	" Sale of Year Book50
		<hr/>
		\$64,882.10
	Total Resources for the year	<hr/>
		\$70,741.65

Dr.

1874.
May 1. To Appropriations paid to aid in Building Houses of Worship
for Congregational Churches, as follows:—

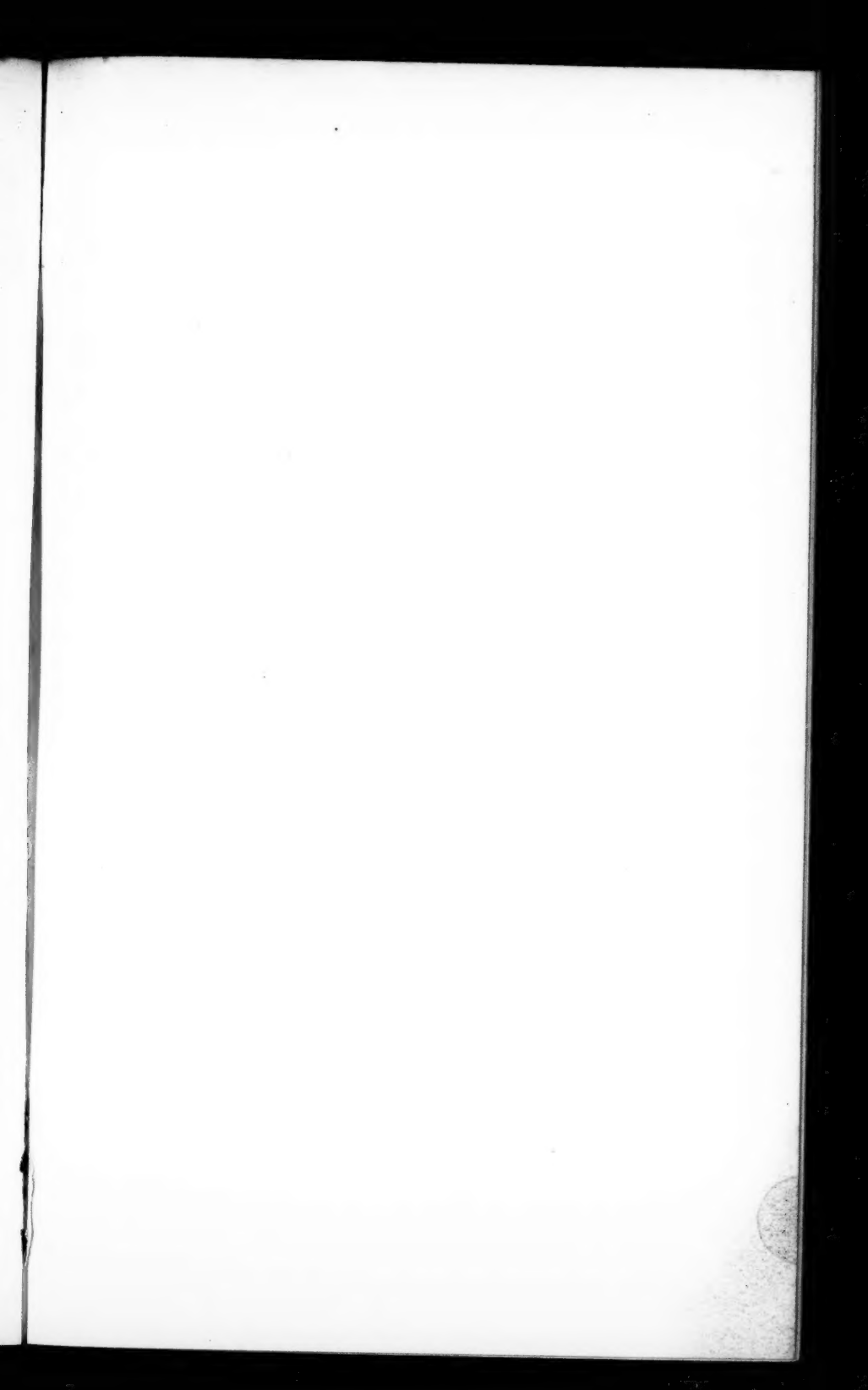
At Riverside,	California, (Special, \$636.00)	\$1,036.00	
" San Mateo,	"	450.00	
		<hr/>	\$1,486.00
" Georgetown,	Colorado Territory,	500.00	500.00
" North Stamford,	Connecticut, (Special)	109.50	
" Jamestown,	Dakota Territory, (Special)	55.00	109.50
" Vermillion,	" (Special, \$50.00)	500.00	
		<hr/>	555.00
" Forest,	Illinois,	400.00	
" Ravenswood,	" (Loan)	500.00	
		<hr/>	900.00
" Carroll,	Iowa, (Special, \$255.00)	705.00	
" Cherokee,	"	450.00	
" Fort Atkinson,	"	300.00	
" Le Mars,	"	450.00	
" Winthrop,	"	500.00	
		<hr/>	2,405.00
" Bala,	Kansas,	200.00	
" Cawker City,	" (Special \$2,232.13)	2,482.13	
" Fort Scott,	" (Special)	401.90	
" Neodesha,	" (Special)	261.50	
" Sedgwick,	" (Special \$328.91)	728.01	
" Stranger,	" (Special \$1,460.00)	1,460.00	
" Tonganoxie,	" (Special \$432.00)	832.00	
" Wellsville,	"	400.00	
		<hr/>	6,766.74
	Amount carried forward		\$12,722.24

<i>Amount brought forward</i>			
At Weymouth,	Massachusetts, (Special Trust)	\$21,000.00	\$12,722.24
" Farewell,	Michigan, (Special)	\$21.00	21,000.00
" Grand Ledge,	" (Special)	15.00	
" Michigan Centre,	" (Special \$340.30)	640.30	
" New Haven,	" (Special \$291.00)	691.00	
" Saranac,	" (Special \$895.00)	1,295.00	
" Sherman,	" (Special)	52.75	
" Audubon,	Minnesota, (Special)	\$422.00	2,715.05
" Hamilton,	"	400.00	
" Pauldingville,	Missouri,	\$300.00	822.00
" Memphis,	" (Special \$30.50)	430.50	
" Irvington,	Nebraska,	\$110.00	730.50
" Reno,	Nevada, (Special \$23.55)	\$423.55	110.00
" Bath,	New Hampshire, (Special \$1,272.45)	\$1,772.45	423.55
" Brooklyn Park Church,	New York, (Special)	\$2,097.46	1,772.45
" " Church of the Covenant,	" (Special)	1,690.00	
" Greene,	"	500.00	
" Monsey,	" (Special \$162.50)	662.50	
" Seneca Falls,	" (Special)	175.00	
" Pisgah,	Ohio, (Special \$35.00)	\$235.00	5,034.96
" Philadelphia, Plymouth Ch.,	Pennsylvania, (Special Trust)	\$6,000.00	235.00
" Herndon,	Virginia, (Special)	\$78.50	6,000.00
" Bloomington,	Wisconsin,	\$200.00	73.50
" Freedom,	" (Special \$155.00)	355.00	
" Hammond,	"	350.00	
" Lone Rock,	" (Special \$75.00)	475.00	
" Platteville,	"	200.00	
			1,580.00
Total amount paid to forty-eight churches,			\$53,224.25
To amount paid to Pastors' Libraries,			307.00
To Salaries of officers and clerks,		\$8,131.00	
" Rent of offices, New York and Boston,		960.37	
" Office expenses,		64.96	
" Special Agency,		333.45	
" Traveling expenses of Secretaries,		283.64	
" Home Missionary, for use of one page for the year,		200.00	
" Anniversary in Boston,		20.52	
" Tract of Co-operative Societies,		50.43	
" Printing Annual Reports and Circulars,		501.15	
" Postage, Telegrams, Express and Stationery,		172.69	
" Legal Fees, and Taxes,		33.55	
" Subscription to paper for office,		3.20	
" Life Members' Certificates,		10.00	
" Cash transferred to Loan Fund,		\$2.00	10,744.61
			2.00
Total Disbursements during the year.			\$64,277.86
Balance in Treasury, May 1, 1874,			6,463.79
			\$70,741.65
Amount pledged to forty-one Churches,		\$17,450.00	
" " in excess of funds in Treasury,		10,986.21	

We have examined the vouchers for receipts and disbursements in the annexed account, and find them correct.

DWIGHT JOHNSON, }
JAMES W. ELWELL, } *Auditors.*

MAY 14, 1874.





Saml. A. Hitchcock

